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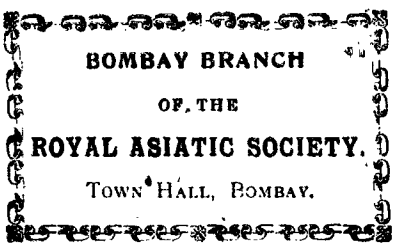

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HAURVATÂT AND AMERETÂT.

AN ESSAY

ILLUSTRATING THE ORIGIN, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPTIONS INVOLVED IN THE NAMES OF THE TWO AMESHASPANDS, KHORDAD AND AMARDAD.

TRANSLATED

FROM THE FRENCH

OF

PROFESSOR JAMES DARMESTETER,

WITH NOTES,

BY

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TO

THE MEMORY

OF

A. H. W.

This Work

IS

WITH SENTIMENTS OF LOVE AND ESTEEM

DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

THE slow but steadily advancing interest that of late is being taken by the Parsis in the exposition of their faith is a noteworthy feature of their present life. The lively inward stir that induces into some of them a desire for an intelligent conception of Mazdiasnism and the literary activity that is beginning to be displayed in connection therewith afford a pleasing contrast to the apprehension that was once and is perhaps even now felt in some quarters that the teachings of Mazdiasnism may come to be forgotten before some of the destructive influences of western civilization. These facts have emboldened me to place this translation before my co-religionists and such others as are interested in the study of religious beliefs.

The excellent English translation of Dr. Wilhelm Geiger's *Ostiranische Kultur* shows too clearly how even from such stray and scanty materials as the Avesta literature affords a whole history of a nation's life-time can be worked out. This little essay will in the same way point out how with the aid of a few Zend, Pehlvi and Sanskrit passages the author endeavours to sketch out the history of the two Ameshaspands, Khordâd and Amardâd. Both the works are the clear result of that scientific spirit of research, which gives the *savants* of Europe a decided superiority over those of India and the cultivation and development of which is a matter of the greatest importance to us. Such a spirit has already taken root amongst us and it is humbly hoped that this work will aid its growth.

My best thanks are due to the learned author of the work, to Rev. A. Walsh, Principal, St. Mary's College, Madras, and to Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha of Bombay; to the former two gentlemen for the trouble they took in going through my manuscript translation and favouring me with their

opinions, to the latter for the very efficient aid he rendered me in comparing with the original texts and verifying my second-hand versions of the several Zend, Pehlvi and Sanscrit passages occuring in the work, as also for the many suggestions I got from his extensive scholarship. I need not add that the work is necessarily defective, being the fruit of what little time I could snatch from the toils of a working life.

HIRJI P. WADIA.

Baroda, 15*th February* 1888.

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HAURVATÂT AND AMERETÂT.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. Beneath Ahura Mazda, the supreme lord of the creation, the Mazdiasnian religion places six divinities, six *Amesha-Cpeñta* or Immortal Saints, each of whom presides over a part of the creation. The first four are *Vohu-manô*, who looks after the cattle; *Asha-vahista*, who looks after fire; *Cpeñta ârmaiti*, who looks after the earth, and *Khshathra-vairya*, who looks after the metals. But at the same time that they preside over an element they personify an abstraction of which they bear the name. Thus *Vohu-manô* signifies *good Thought*; *Asha-vahista, perfect Purity*; *Cpeñta-ârmaiti, holy Piety*; and *Khshathra-vairya, adorable Royalty*.

The last two are Haurvatât and Ameretât and they are the subject matter of the following work.

§ 2. Here is how M. Spiegel, the learned translator of the Avesta, summarizes the texts concerning these two divinities.

"It now remains for us to inquire into the two Amesha-
"Cpeñtas who are ordinarily named together and whom for
"that reason we shall examine together. They are named
"*Haurvatât* and *Ameretât*. Their names, like those of the
"other Ameshaspands, are abstract names and may pretty
"nearly be translated as "Totality" and "Immortality" (All
"heit und Unsterblichkeit). I have often rendered the first
"by "Abundance" (Fülle). The two names are often found to
"be employed as abstract nouns (Cp Yaçna 3, 2; 31, 6; 32,
"5 &c). According to the Parsis Haurvatât is the lord of
"waters, Ameretât, the lord of plants. Plutarch names the
"first *theon ploutou*, god of riches, the second *epi kalois*

"*hedeon*, (the god) of pleasures to the refined. I believe one is "at liberty to define them as the tutelary deities of the enjoy- "ments of the senses, of eating and of drinking; so one "observes from the *Yast* 19, 96, that they overcome Hunger "and Thirst. But beyond the general invocations nothing "important is found to permit our drawing any precise con- "clusions about the nature of these two divinities. In the "second Yast § 3 and in the first *Sîroza* § § 6-7 Haurvatât is put "in close communion with good dwelling (dem guten "Wohnen) and Ameretât with pastures, a fact which is "sufficiently explained by their peculiar qualities. Water is "everywhere an essential condition of a good dwelling and in a "country like Iran, having a scanty water supply, it is a thing "more welcome than anywhere else; on the other hand a "people devoted to agriculture and to the rearing of cattle "ought to value the tutelary deity of plants especially as the "protector of corn and pastures. Haurvatât and Ameretât "have as their adversaries the demons Tauru and Zairica..... "From *Yast* 19, 96, it may perhaps be concluded that these "demons are identical with hunger and thirst."[1]

§ 3. This summary does not leave on the mind a very clear idea: this proceeds from the fact of the author's having made no attempt to classify the data of the texts, to distinguish the ancient and primitive attributes from those that are modern and derivative, in one word to make out their history.

The object of the present work is to fill up this gap. It contains two parts; in the first an attempt will be made to show that the two divinities which form the subject in hand have a history to tell, that is to say they have not been from the very first what they are to-day; an endeavour will accordingly be made to go through the series of their *transformations* as far back as the period of their (first) *formation* and to mark out the *elements* whose concurrence gave them birth. In the second part an attempt will be made to point out that

1 Translation of the Avesta, III, pp 11 and 48 of the Introduction.

those elements were already existing in the Indo-iranian period, that is to say in the period when the Arians of Persia and the Arians of India, though already separated from the Arians of Europe, formed as yet only one people, professing one and the same religion.

Paitistâtêê yaçkahêca mahrkahêca (Vendidad, 20, 13).— *For resisting disease and death.*

PART FIRST.

§ 4. When one studies (the question of) an Ameshaspand, whoever he be, three queries occur (to him) :

1° What is his material attribute ?

2° What is his abstract significance ?

3° What is the connection of that attribute with that significance ?

In this particular case there arises a fourth question; how came to exist that close union between the two divinities which we shall be considering ? But this question need not be studied separately. This union is really produced either by the relationship of the material attributes, or by that of their abstract significance, or by both together. The solution of this question is accordingly found to be contained in that of the preceding ones.

Chapter First.

The material attributes of Haurvatât and Ameretât.

I

§ 5. An outward trait gives at first sight a separate place to Haurvatât and Ameretât in the group of the Ameshaspands. In opposition to their four colleagues who have each an individual and independent existence, these two divinities appear almost constantly united and the presence of the one announ-

ces that of the other. The link which unites them is as close as that of Castor and Pollux in Greek poetry and closer than that of Mitra and Varuna in Vedic poetry; they form a pair. This intimate union is outwardly denoted in their very names by the *dvandva's* endings, that is to say each of the two nouns is put in the dual number, the dual showing not that each of the two divinities is double but only that the one forms a pair with the other. Just as then in Vedic Sanscrit the phrase caxur *mitrayor* â eti priyam *varunayoh* [1] does not mean "he comes up, the sweet object of gaze *of the two Mitras, of the two Varuns*" but "the sweet object of gaze *of the two gods, Mitra and Varun*"; in the same way, the formula of invocation in the Avesta "Nivaêdhayêmi.....Haurvatbya Ameretatbya" [2] does not mean "I invoke *the two Haurvatâts, the two Ameretâts*", but "I invoke *the two Haurvatât and Ameretât*" or "I invoke *the pair Haurvatât-Ameretât.*" The dual termination added to each of the two terms indicates that they no more belong to themselves, that they are no more than members of a group.

§ 6. As to the list of the Ameshaspands in general the Avesta, as it is known, is very cautious. No direct references to any of them (are to be found) anywhere; indirect ones regarding one or two of them (are found) here and there. When Yima pierces *the earth* with his golden lance and says to it "*O Cpeñta-ârmaiti,* kindly come forth, stretch thyself out", [3] one immediately observes without the necessity of having any recourse to tradition that *Cpeñta-ârmaiti* is the genius of the earth. For Haurvatât and Ameretât there is no such thing, no text which expresses their attributes or makes them

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1 Rig Veda, VI, 51, 1. Cf Burnouf, Commentaire sur le Yaçna, p. 159.

2 Yaçna 1,5. The quotations made here are according to M. Spiegel's edition for the Yaçna, the Vispered, the Vendidad, the Sanscrit translation of Neriosangh and the Pehlvi translation; and according to that of M. Westergaard for the Yasts and the fragments.

3 Vendidad II, 32.

intelligible; it is not sufficient for our clearly understanding them to repeat about ten times the formula "I invoke Haurvatât and Ameretât." One adds to it the different reading "I invoke Haurvatât, pure, lord of purity; I invoke Ameretât, pure, lord of purity." [1] Tradition is fortunately familiar with them or at least speaks of them much more than the prayer-book:—

Avirdâdanâmânam amaram, apâm patim, says the Sanscrit translation of the Yaçna;[2] it means Avirdâda,[3] amshaspand, lord of the waters. *Amirdâdanâmânam amaram, vanaspatînâm patim*; it means Amirdâda, amshaspand, lord of the trees.

Let us now search from the Patets[4] the crimes which may be committed against Khordâd and Amurdâd[5]; let us know through that very prayer what they are.

I repent, says the Patet Irânî, "of every sin which I have "committed with regard to the sky against the Amschaspand "Khordâd and with regard to this earth against the waters "and against the different kinds of waters; if I have turned

---

1 Yaçna 17,17; 70,57 &c.

2 Neriosangh I, 5.

3 Haurvatât has become *Khordat* in Pehlvi and Khordâd in the Parsi language. Neriosangh constantly uses the form *Avirdâda* which is phonetically inexplicable. If however it were only known that his Sanscrit translation was made from a Pehlvi original, this form would, I think, afford a material proof of the fact. The Pehlvi having only a single character to represent *kh* et *a*, *o* and *v* and often *t* and *d*, it follows that the Pehlvi group representing the word Khordâd may as well be transcribed A V—R D—D as K H O R D—T. *Avirdâda* is a vocalised form of the first group and Neriosangh chose it because it had the advantage of being symmetrical with *Amirdâda*. It is then the transcription of a writing and not of pronunciation. The *â* has been brought on by that of *amirdâda* and by that of the original *haurvatât* which Neriosangh reads *hauravatât*.

4 "The word Patet signifies properly *to repent*. The Patets are confessions which specify all the sins which man can commit":—Anquetil, Zend-Avesta, II, 28. It is the Zend *paitita*, meaning literally *return*.

5 The Parsi form of the word Ameretât.

" from water to a dead corpse ; if on waking up, before " purifying my hands with urine,[1] I have washed them in " running water ; if I have turned from water to that (which " was) Daschtan[2] or if I have thrown any her or nasa[3] in run- " ning water ; if I have thrown therein any spittle or any " snot ; if I have washed in running water my head, my hand, " my face, when they were already pure, so that the pure, " the holy, and the Amschaspand Khordâd are incensed against " me."

I repent of " every sin which I have committed with regard " to the sky against the Amschaspand Amerdâd and with " regard to this earth against the trees and the different kinds of " trees ; if I have cut trees, fruitless or fruit-bearing (while " they were yet) young;[4] if I have gathered fruits before " they were ripe ; if I have removed from the pure medicines " and remedies, for giving them to the impure ; if I have " given (fruits) to the impure to eat and taken them away from " the pure, so that the pure, the holy, and the Amschaspand Amerdâd are incensed against me."[5]

The sins committed against Khordâd and Amurdâd are accordingly the sins committed against the waters and the plants. In the following words the *Khud Patet* briefly summarizes them :—

" I repent of the faults which I have committed :

" Against Asfendarmad (Cpeñta ârmaiti Cp § 1), against the " earth and the diverse earths ;

---

1 On the religious value of bull's urine see Anquetil II, 601.

2 The state of impurity of women, see Spiegel, Avesta II, XLIV.

3 " *Her* are the excrements, urine, portions of the body of a living man, such as nails, hair &c. They become *her nasa* when he is dead" : Anquetil, II, 693.

4 Cp Yast XXII, 13.

5 These passages which the author admits have some " inaccuracies of detail" are taken from Anquetil's translation of the Avesta II, 44.

"Against Khordâd, against the water and the diverse "waters;

"Against Amurdâd, against the plant and the diverse "plants."[1]

These texts are sufficient to establish that with the Parsis Khordâd and Amerdâd are the tutelary deities of waters and of plants. (Cp § 38, note.)

§ 7. This supposition which is not at all directly supplied by the Avesta is at least confirmed by it through some harmonious traits which prove that the Parsis are in the right.

1° "What is the *Ashem-vohu*,[2] asks Zoroaster, that is worth ten others in grandeur, in holiness, in excellence? It is, replies Ahura, that which a man, at the time of eating, recites to Haurvatât and to Ameretât."[3] Being the tutelary deities of waters and of plants, they are quite naturally appointed to preside over the nourishment of mankind.

2° In the liturgical chapters at the commencement of the Yaçna the priest, addressing the different articles of sacrifice says; "I celebrate and I invoke the Bareçma, raised on its own support, with the Zaothra (libations); (I invoke) the food of Myazda, (I invoke) *haurvatât ameretât*".[4] Just as in the Virgilian hemistich, "*hesterno inflatus Iaccho*," Bacchus is no more the god of wine but wine itself; so, in this invocation, *haurvatât* and *ameretât* are no more the tutelary deities of

1 See Spiegel's Grammar of the Parsi language, p. 157.

2 A prayer so named from its two commencing words.

3 Yast XXI, 6-7, I regard *âshem çtaoiti* as a compound verb. It is the denominative of *ashô çtâitis*, the technical expression for the recitation of *ashem*. The phrase signifies word for word: what is the *ashi-recitation*? That which a man eater (i.e. when eating) *ashi-recites*. According to the Sad-der (20, 22 Hyde, *Veterum Persarum Religio*) for each mouthful eaten with the prayer one is assured on the day of final judgment the intercession of Khordâd and of Amurdâd for as many faults committed (as mouthfuls eaten.)

4 Yaçna III 1, 2. Bareçma or Barsom means the consecrated twigs, myazda, sacrificial flesh (the Vedic *miyedha*.)

waters and of woods but water itself and the sacrificial wood. *Avirdâda*, says Neriosangh, is *water*, *amirdâda*, *wood* (Avirdâdam udakam, Amirdâdamca vanaspatim)[1]

A like employment (of words) is only possible, when the material attribute has become so essential to the divinity that his name immediately raises the idea of the object over which he reigns. The previous example then proves that at the time when the liturgical portions of the Yaçna were composed the idea of water and of plant had become as inseparable from the name of Haurvatât and Ameretât as the idea of wine is from that of Bacchus.[2]

§ 8. The first quotation of the preceding paragraph pointed out to us Haurvatât and Ameretât as presiding over the nourishment of mankind. The latter explains to us a curious trait of their development in the Parsi period. According to the Parsis[3] "the righteous protected by these Amschaspands will be satisfied in the Behescht (paradise) without food."[4] The holy Mazdiasnians at the time of the Avesta and also of the Minokhired had a more exacting appetite, and as soon as their souls, escaped from the attacks of the Daêvas, had arrived before Ahura Mazda, he caused them to be served by the celestial Izeds with the most exquisite of foods, the oil of

1 Nériosangh III, 2.

2 Let us here notice an example of the influence which the association of ideas can exercise over the sound of a word. *Haurva* has become in the modern dialects *har*; *haurvatât* ought to produce *hardâd* or *hordâd*. But the Zend *h* may become *kh* (Compare *Khosru*=Zend *Huçravas* by the side of *hunar* "merit"=Zend *hunara*). The idea of Haurvatât raising that of food, the word *hordâd* raised the remembrance of the verb *Khordan*, to eat, and this remembrance determined the *kh* of Khordâd (Cp note 1 of § 30, 2°).

3 Of the 18th century. But the doctrine is unquestionably traceable to an infinitely remoter period. From a purely logical point of view it may be said that it arose in the same times in which the gloss of the Bundehesh, *Khorasn lâ apâyat*, did. See the same paragraph further on.

4 Anquetil, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres Vol. XXXIV, p. 393.

Maidyozarm.[1] Here are the intermediate links between the latter conception and the former.

1° Who are the tutelary deities charged with the preparation of the food on which the righteous are fed ? Evidently they can only be the tutelary deities who "produce on earth all that is sweet and good in water, in the trees, and in the whole of nature."[2] Consequently Haurvatât and Ameretât nourish men in heaven. "*Haurvatât* and *Ameretât*", says Ahura Mazda in person "are the wages of the pure who pass into the other life; *mîjdem ashâunâm parô-açti gaçeñtâm.*[3]" Perhaps the text is also clearer and more explicit: perhaps it is necessary to read *myazdem* in the place of *mîjdem* and translate "are *the food* of the pure" in place of "are the recompense." M. Westergaard's edition does not indeed give this different reading: but Anquetil's translation ("who give the miezd to the pure") takes its existence for granted. We shall find the same idea further back in that part of the Avesta whose composition is the most ancient, viz, the Gathas (v. §. 35).

2° The Parsi doctrine continuing to spiritualize its dogmas, a time arrived when the doctors continued to ask themselves if it was proper to recompense the virtue of the righteous by the enjoyments of a jolly liver, and in a more general way, if it was proper for celestial beings to feed themselves like ordinary mortals. The result of this was that the saints were put on fasting and the celestial food became totally ideal. What the Bundehesh says of the divine fishes which guard the white Hom is said of the inhabitants of Behesht; *mînoi khorasn hûmanad; aigh, khorasn lâ apâyat,* they have a celestial food, that is, they do not eat at all[4]. The just, being fed

1 Minokhired (Dr. West's Edition) II, 152 and Yast XXII, 18.

2 Anquetil l. c.

3 Yast I, 25.

4 In the quotations from the Bundehesh the first figure denotes the page, the second the line. 42, 20, 43, 1 of Bundehesh (Westergaard's or Justi's Edition).

in heaven, are fed *on a celestial food;* consequently Haurvatât and Ameretât satisfy them without their eating anything. Hence the formula of Anquetil.

But the condemned souls according to their way kept to the table :

Yè âyat ashavanem âivamnem hôi aparem khshayô.
daregém âyû temanhô dusqarethem avaêtâç vaçô[1].

" He who tries to deceive the Pure, to him, after his death, a long dwelling in darkness, *unpleasant food,* words of insult."[2]

They were served with poison and with fetid dishes ;[3] the Minokhired adds to their bill of fare serpents, scorpions and other *Kharvastars* who are in hell.[4] The same question that occurs in regard to the banquet of the just (occurs here), viz. who prepare these foods for them ? The answer comes of itself ; they are the adversaries of Haurvatât and Ameretât. " The Devs Tarikh and Zâretch (Cp. § § 2,26) are engaged in producing in the trees and in the foods bitterness and other bad qualities and *nourish the condemned souls on them.*"[5] But Parsi scholasticism did not go further ; it did not know (how) to spiritualize its hell and the hell remained material, when the heaven was no more such, as the witness of an age when the latter was equally such.[6]

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1 Yaçna, 31, 20.

2 See the counterpart of these verses in § 31, 1.

3 Yast 22, 36.

4 Minokhired II, 191.

5 Anquetil l. c.

6 There is the same contradiction between the hell of the moderns and their paradise. Fenelon has attempted to restore their symmetry but without success.

Long ago did the Koran replace the Avesta in Persia and. the Iranians having from Mazdiasnians become pious Mussulmans still believe in the *dusqarethem* under different names. The Parsis and the Persians are in the main at one on this point. The theory of hell is in reality the same in the Koran and in the Avesta. If Ormazd causes the infidels to be fed

§ 9. Just as Ormazd has his rival, Ahrîman, so each Amshaspand has his counter-amshaspand. Those of Haurvatât and Ameretât are perfectly given. Haurvatât, the deity of the waters, will contend with thirst; it remains for Ameretât to contend with hunger.[1] They will vanquish each enemy of theirs in that final contest, when the Saviour, the son of Vîçpa-taurvi, will come to smite down "the evil Drukh, of inauspicious splendour and born of darkness" and when each of the spirits of the good creation will crush his rival spirit.

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with poison and fetid dishes, Allah causes them to drink *Khamîm* and *ghassâq* (boiling water and pus chap 38, 57, 78, 25); he causes them to be fed with Zaqqûm, that tree which grows in the bottom of hell and the fruits of which are heads of demons (37, 62). Here, as it often happens, the new beliefs which the Arabs brought to the Persians were old acquaintances with the latter. I do not wish to say that the Arabian hell is borrowed from Mazdiasnism. I need not occupy myself with the origin of the Arabian conception, I only wish to note the fundamental identity of the two conceptions. The differences of detail are undoubtedly characteristic, but as these differences are all to the advantage of the Koran, where the traits are more emphasized and more striking, the Iranians continue to recognise their own hell, more clearly sketched out, in the less vague, less generous but more striking characteristics of the Arabian hell. Thus with the change of religion their idea of hell did not change. The Koran only brought to them information regarding the abode of condemned souls which was new and hitherto unpublished but which brought with it all the character of verity, because it agreed with the ancient description and completed it. For a reader of the gathas those two things which waited upon the condemned soul, *dusqarethem, avaêtâç vaçô*, unpleasant food and words of insult, are found perfectly explained in these lines of the Koran: "the tree of Zakkum shall be the food of the sinful. It shall boil in their entrails as melted metal, like boiling water does it boil. It shall besaid (to the executors of God's works.) Seize the wicked and hurl him into the midst of hell and pour over his head the torture of boiling water. Taste this (it shall besaid to him), thou art the Powerful, the Distinguished (person): 44, 43, etseqq, Kazimirski's translation)." Here then the change of religion is only obvious. The Koran keeps up the Mazdiasnian tradition which continues uninterruptedly. We shall find further on another example of this kind of permanence but one obviously Mazdiasnian and antiislamic (See § 41).

1 Compare however § 40.

"*Akem-mano* (evil thought) smites, but *Vohu-mano* smites it in his turn ; Falsehood smites, but Truth smites it in its turn ; Haurvatât and Ameretât shall smite hunger and thirst, Haurvatât and Ameretât shall smite the terrible hunger and thirst ; [1] he will be overcome, the contriver of evil, Ahriman, smitten down from helplessness." [2]

We have already seen that the Parsis oppose the Devs Taric and Zaric to Haurvatât and Ameretât and bring forth for them all that is bad in water and in trees. In the Bundehesh this character is still assigned to Ahriman in person, [3] but Taric and Zaric are already the rivals of our two deities who are to overcome them at the end of the world [4] and a passage of the Avesta [5] where the counter-ameshaspands are enumerated puts Tauru [6] and Zairica in the last line. Hence comes the following question ;—it being granted on the one hand that Haurvatât and Ameretât contend with hunger and thirst and on the other that they contend with Tairic and Zairic, does it follow that Tairic and Zairic are the Daevas of hunger and of thirst ? To reply in the affirmative it would be necessary to establish first that Haurvatât and Ameretât have never had other attributes than those which they possess to-day ; for it is possible that their hostility against Tairic and Zairic may be traced back to a

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1 M. Spiegel does not translate this last line which he regards as a gloss. I should rather think there is only in this repetition a simple rhetorical process. To make the impression more lively the charge is repeated in the idea with the reinforcement of an epithet. In the *bella, horida bella* of Virgil, *horida bella* is no gloss.

2 Yt XIX, 96.

3 Bundehesh 43, 7.

4 Bundehesh 5, 20, 76, 9.

5 Vendidad 18. The text does not cite them as such. But as the order of their enumeration is considered : Angro mainyu.—Naçu—Andra Cauru, Nâonhaithya,—Tauru, Zairica,—it is found sufficient to replace Naçu by Akem-manô for having the classical hierarchy of the counter-amshaspands.

6 The Pehlvi form Tauric is derived from Tauru on the analogy of Zairica.

more ancient period of their history. Let us then leave the question unanswered for a moment. We cannot hazard any hypothesis to the effect that our two demons exist before *perfectly* knowing that our two deities exist.

II

§ 10. The preceding examples have shown us Haurvatât and Ameretât constantly united; whence comes this union?

For the two divinities to form a pair it is essential that the objects over which they preside should form a pair; in other words, the close link which Mazdiasnism establishes between the deity of the waters and the deity of the woods should again find itself established between the waters and the woods, and if Haurvatât and Ameretât are invoked together and work together, the waters and the woods ought to be invoked together and to work together.

The texts corroborate this inference. Wherever the Avesta is opened one has not long to turn over the pages to find an example of this new *dvandva*,[1] viz., *waters and plants*. It is not that wherever the waters appear plants should necessarily follow. The matter stands just as it does in the Vedas, Dyâus (the sky) may occasionally appear without its habitual companion Prthivî (the earth.) Nor is it either the case that wherever the waters and the plants are associated together they should shut out every stranger from their company; Dyâus and Prthivî indeed admit Antarixa (the atmosphere) into their intimate society and are sometimes even found separated from each other by a crowd of strangers or of distant relatives. For the two objects to go in pair it is not at all necessary that they should form *constant* and *exclusive* union; it is necessary and sufficient that they should frequently appear united like subjects or objects of like action or of reciprocal action. Such is the case in the Vedas with the sky and the earth, such in the Avesta with the waters and the plants.

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1 I use this word in the sense of *a couple*, reserving to the dvandva of the grammarians the name of *grammatical dvandva* or *dvandva perfect*.

They are invoked together :

"I celebrate and I invoke *all the waters* created by Mazda, the pure ones ; I celebrate and I invoke *all the trees* created by Mazda, the pure ones." [1]

"May Ahura reign of his own will *over the waters*, of his own will *over the trees*, of his own will over all the good things of pure origin" [2]

"Tell me," says Zoroaster to Ahura, tell me,.....who has fixed, that they may not fall, the earth and the immoveable beings (the stars) ; who *the waters and the trees* ?" [3]

The precepts relating to the waters bring on in their train the precepts relating to the trees ; [4] what contaminates the one contaminates the other ; the place where a corpse is carried should be as far as possible from all water and from all trees [5] ; care must be taken that carnivorous birds do not carry the mortal remains to the water nor to the trees. [6] Waters and trees are associated in the ceremonies of purification and it is for the species of sweet-smelling trees to finish the work of the waters. [7]

Every allusion to the water which runs on (*tacatâpô*) invariably brings on in the paragraph which follows the tree which grows (*ukhshyat-urvarâo*) [8]

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1 Yaçna 17,71, Cp 1,39 ; 2,49 ; 17,50 &c.

2 Yaçna, 8,11.

3 Yaçna, 43,4.

4 Vendidad 8,300—304.

5 Vendidad 3,50.

6 Vendidad 6,97 Cp Vendidad 15,33 ; 12,8.

7 Vendidad 9,129—130.

8 Yast 13,43. The constancy of this simultaneous occurrence warrants our establishing with absolute certainty the text of a passage of the same Yast. It is said at § 53 that the Farohars show a road to the waters which had for a long time remained *afrâta* t. *kushîs*. M. Justi translates *nicht aus den Hoehlen hervorkommend* (not coming forth from their holes) and compares the second term of this obvious compound with the

We have already before (§ 7) come across the grammatical dvandva *haurvatâta ameretâta* denoting water and the sacrificial wood ; this dvandva is indirect and metaphorical, in as much as it denotes the elements not by themselves but through an intermediate link and with the characteristics of the divinities who rule them. But the Avesta even offers us the dvandva direct and immediate, the dvandva perfect, formed of the joint names of the two objects. When Yima reigned over the earth, Haoma said "he delivered from death the flocks and men, from drought the waters and the plants (âpaurvairê)" [1]

III

§ 11. We have not to seek the origin of this pair ;[2] we have only to establish from them their existence and to draw from this chapter the following two conclusions :—

1° Haurvatât and Ameretât are the deities of the waters and the woods ;

2° They form a pair and by their side the waters and the woods form a pair. Before going further it is proper to determine the exact import of this last conclusion. The

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Sanskrit *kuxi*. But at § 55, the Farohars cause the trees to grow, which had long remained without growing, *afraokhshyeiñtîs*. It follows hence that *afrâta* t. *kushîs* is a participle corresponding with *afraokhashyeiñtîs ;* let us suppress the privative *a* and the prefix *frâ* which correspond with the privative *a* and the prefix *fra* of *afraokhshyeiñtîs*. There remains *ta* t. *kushîs* which *must* come from the root *tac*, to run. But *tatkushîs* is in fact the regular feminine plural of a perfect tense of a Vedic form of *tac* ; compare *paptivâns* from *pat* and *petushî=paptushî*. *Afrâta* t. *kushîs* then signifies *not running forward* and the whole restoration of the text consists in suppressing the point of separation and consequently in changing t into *t*. The following paragraph corroborates this correction : "and then the waters *run onwards* : âpô *frataceñtî*"—M. Westergaard proposes fratata-kushîs ; the addition of *a* is useless.

1 Yaçna 9,15. Cp Yt 15,16, 19,32 ; Gâh 4,5.

2 A natural union (for the tree grows near the water which flows) brought about also by other causes which we shall meet with in the second part (Cp the 1st. note to § 48)

point in question here is not to give the principal reason of the union of our two deities nor to make it clear that they were formed a pair because the objects over which they preside this day formed a pair. This would in fact imply that they owe their actual union to their actual functions : now it would be possible that these latter did not belong to early times ; it would be possible that they might have been already associated, as is the case with other functions, before getting the empire of the waters and of the woods, so that their present union may only be the result of another union more ancient and brought about by the intimate relationship of some prior functions. Whether they owe their union to that of the objects over which they really hold sway or whether the objects forming a couple have been attributed to them, because the objects themselves were already in a state of union is a point on which we, at the stage we now are, are not at liberty to have our say. That is the reason we content ourselves with saying : they form a couple *and* their objects form a couple and not : they form a couple *because* their objects form a couple.

Chapter Second.

The abstract significance of Haurvatât and Ameretât.

I

§ 12. The first four Ameshaspands have each two attributes, the one material, the other abstract which gives them their name. There is no connection however between these two attributes, at least non-apparent. As grammatical analysis and the texts have informed us that Bahman is the deity of Good Thoughts (Vohu-manô), it is impossible to conjecture from that alone that he is also the deity who looks after the protection of the flocks (*gavâm paçûnâm patim.*[1]) It is not less difficult to understand how Sapendomad, the deity of Holy Piety (Cpeñta ârmaiti) was able to pass into the character of mistress of the earth (*prthivîpatim.*[1]) But there is this one

1 Neriosangh 1,5.

thing evident of itself that the abstract attribute is here prior to the material attribute; that Vohu-manô, *the Good Spirit*, has been the deity of *Good Thoughts*,[1] (*theos eunoias*), before being the deity of cattle; that Cpeñta-ârmaiti, Holy Piety, has been the deity of wisdom,[1] (*theos sophias*), before being the deity of the earth. The Mazdiasnian religion, following here a line contrary to that of other religions, has passed from the abstract to the concrete, from the moral attribute to the material. How this transition was made this is not the place to examine: but we are naturally led to ask ourselves if the last two Ameshaspands have been from the beginning what they are to-day, viz. two concrete deities. Did they, contrary to their colleagues, enter directly into material life or did they indeed like them put in their first appearance with an abstraction? The analysis of their names will supply us with an answer.

§ 13. Let us commence with Ameretât whose name offers less difficulty. Ameretât, or better, taking the full form of the word, *ameretatât*[2] is decomposed into *amereta-tât; amereta*, that is to say, *a-mereta* signifies *not dead*, the suffix *tât* forms abstract substantives. Ameretât then signifies *to me thneskonta einai*, to be not dying. We shall translate it by *immortality* or better by *not-to-die;* the special meaning which the first word has with the moderns would expose the meaning of the Zend term to the danger of being limited in an arbitrary way. The word immortality awakes in us the idea of an eternal and *heavenly* life succeeding a transitory and earthly one; but the Zend term in its etymological significance gives us a meaning more general and less precise. The latter simply marks the absence of death without joining to it any notion of place; it marks the indefinite duration of life, in whatever place it is prolonged, whether on earth or in the happiness of the Behest. The texts alone and the context can tell us whether it denotes

1 Plutarch's Treatise on Isis and Osiris, XLVII.

2 Yaçna 56,10,4; Yast 2,8.

eternal life or long life, as it can denote the second as well as the first. And in fact, when the Yaçna informs us that Yima *in his reign* rendered cattle and men immortal, that as long as he reigned there was neither old age nor death, the result of that clearly is that *immortality* can be nothing else than the indefinite recoil from death. [1]

§ 14. *Haurva-tât* is decomposed into *haurva-tât*.

The Zend word *haurva* (Sanscrit *sarva*) has four different meanings; [2]

1° As the second term of a compound, *haurva* signifies a *guardian*, as for instance *paçus-haurva*, (the dog) who guards the cattle; *vis-haurva*, the dog who guards the house. *Haurva* implies a root *har*, to guard, to preserve, which exists in the language and has given *hare-tar*, protector, *hare-thra*, help, *hishar-ô* (si-sar-ô), he who desires to protect, and the reduplicate verbal form *ni-sha-ñhar-atû* (ni-sa-sar-atu), that he may preserve. *Haurva* implies a primitive form *sarva*; the Sanscrit *sarva* does not give this meaning, but the Latin servus (he who protects, from which is derived *servare*), offers the perfect equivalent of *haurva* with respect to meaning as well as to form.

2° The Latin, by the side of the form in its active sense, *servus*, offers a form in the passive sense, *salvus*, (he who is protected, he who is unhurt), which like *servus*, is traced back to a root S A R and to a primitive *sarva*. The European languages having separated the primitive vowel *a* from the primitive consonant *r*, the Latin language has been able to

1 Yaçna 9,15. According to the Minokhired this immortality consisted of 300 years. (See the Parsi Grammar of M. Spiegel pp. 141 and 171). In the same way in the Védas *to be immortal* and *to prolong one's life* are two equivalent expressions whose context alone can define the meaning See the Vedic verses *daxinavanto*.....further on in § 26.

2 Compare M Benfey's Essay on the word *Sarvatâti* (Orient und Occident III) and the Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, II. p. 309 sq.

mark the difference in meaning by a difference in form. The Zend in which that division had not taken place was unable to distinguish the two meanings by a phonetic difference and *haurva* combines the meaning of *salvus* with that of *servus*. This meaning is again found in the expression *haurva-fshu*, he who has his flock unhurt:

"pairî paçûs pairî vîréñg çpeñtâi manyavê dademahî; *haurva-fshavô* drvô-gaêthâo drva-fshavô drvô-vîrâ,"[1] we commit to the hands of the holy Spirit our flocks, our men; in order to have *our flocks unhurt*, our goods, our flocks, our men in good condition."

3° That which is preserved safe and sound is *entire*; hence *haurva* came to have the meaning of *whole*; *viçpâm haurvâm tanûm çûnô*,[2] a dog's body quite whole.[3] The Sanscrit *sarva* offers certain examples of this use, "sarvâ *aham asmi romaçâ gandhârînâm iva avikâ*,"[4] R. V., I, 126,7. "I am *all* hairy, like a ewe of the Gandhâri;"

"Ya *uçatâ manasâ somam asmai* sarvahrdâ *devakâmas sunoti*" R. V., X, 160,3, "he who (is) of a loving soul, *of entire heart*, friend of the gods, squeezes the soma for him." The classical expression *sarvam idam* employed to denote the universe can not be translated by *all this* but by *this universe*; *sarvaçveta* does not only signify *white all over* but also *white in its entirely*.[4]

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1 Yaçna 57,17.

2 Vendidad 6,50. *Viçpâm* with *haurvâm* in the sense of *whole* makes here a useless repetition, seeing that it is given the meaning of *all* in the pehlvi *harviçp*.

3 Latin offers the same analogy. *Salvus* (or, what is better, the dialectic form *solvus* corresponding to the Greek series *ol Fos* &c), has given by assimilation *sollus*=whole, whence *solli-citus*, *soll-ers*, and in Oscan *solliferrea* (weapons made wholly of iron, see Festus s. v. *solitaurilia*.) In the same way the Greek transformed *ol Fos* on the one hand into oulos (safe) and on the other into *holos* (whole). Compare Curtius's Greek Etymology (3rd Edition), p. 503.

4 See the St. Petersbourg Dictionary under the word *sarva* and its compounds.

4° In fine the meaning of *all whole* has led to the meaning of *all*; it is thus that *totus* (whole) has in the Roman languages obtained the meaning of *omnis* (all).[1] It is the most frequent meaning of *haurva* and the classical meaning of *sarva*. From this meaning to the first meaning of *safe, protected*, there is but one step which is passed over, when the object to which the epithet is applied may be considered as forming part of a collection of objects which are reckoned together. This consideration allows our showing that, if the Sanscrit language did no more recognise any other meaning in *sarva* than that of *all*, yet a certain number of expressions into which the word is introduced were formed at a period when it still had its etymological significance. The Vedic expression *viç-sarvavîrâ* may serve for an example. Translated according to the primitive sense of *sarva* it signifies "a house which has its men whole, safe and sound"; but the idea of plurality contained in *vîra* reacts upon *sarva*; "the house which has its men entire" becomes "the house which has its men in full compliment" i.e. "*which has all its men.*" But the proof that the first meaning is properly the primitive meaning is the use of *sarvavîra* as an epithet of beings who are not *possessors of men* and to whom the epithet, confined to its classical meaning, becomes singularly embarrassing. The god Pûshan is *svastidâ sarvavîra*: will the translation be, the god who gives happiness, who protects all his men? Who are those men? The translation of the St. Petersbourg dictionary, "leading all the warriors" (alle Mannen führend), is an arbitrary expedient and has only for it the impossibility of translating by the same expression *Pûshan sarvavîra* and *viç sarvavîrâ* by giving up the meaning of *all*. *Pûshan svastidâ sarvavîrâ* signifies "Pushan who gives happiness, who makes men *safe*." Soma, *çûragrâmas sarvavîras* (6,23,4), is the god who grants power to the market-town, safety to men; in other words

1 And so has *salvus* in Umbrian under the form *sevo*.

sarvavîra is the equivalent of *arishtavîra*, "who has his men not wounded." [1]

All the meanings of *haurva* are then derived from the meaning of the root *har*, to protect, employed either actively or passively.

In the active meaning *haurva=servus*, he who preserves.

In the passive sense *haurva=salvus*, he who is protected, whence comes *omnis*, all, through the intermediate *totus*, whole. What are the meanings which the combination of *haurva* with the abstract suffix-*tât* will produce? The sense of *salvus* will give, the condition of him who is preserved, *salvi-tât* (the Latin *salvitus*, from which comes *salus*): we shall translate it by *santé*, (health.) The sense of *servus* will give, the condition of him who preserves, that is to say of him who gives health;

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1 Compare Rig Veda 1, 41,2,

Yam bâhutev piprati pânti martyam risha *h*
arishtas sarva edhate;

The mortal whom they lead as by the hand, whom they protect from all injury, grows uninjured, safe and sound.

Atharva Veda III, 2, 1.

Tâm tvâ câle *sarvavîrâs suvîrâ arishtavîra* upasam carema.

O house, may we enter thy gates, having our men in health, happy, not injured.

If it were objected that in the first of these examples *sarva* may be referred to *martyam* and signify *every man* (*whom*) and that it is indeed replaced by *viçva* in an analogous formula (10,63,13), we have to remark that the construction is hardly possible in the formula 8,27,16;

pra sa xayam tirâte, vi mahîr isho,
Yo vo varâya dâçati;
pra pragâbhir gâyate dharmanas pary,
arishtas sarva edhate.

It is clear that here *sarva* is an epithet of the same class as *arishta*: he brings forth life,.....(he) who bestows on you according to your desire; he propagates himself by offspring, he, not wounded, safe, thrives. This formula is traceable to a period when *sarva* was still understood. It soon ceased to be so and *sarva* having become a synonym for *viçva* in the new language appeared to be so in the ancient formulas and allowed itself to be replaced by the latter expression.

it is the active of the previous expression and we shall translate it by *Santé* (with capital S.)

In short *haurva* in the sense of *all whole* or of *all* combined with the abstract suffix-*tât* will give a sense equivalent to that of the Latin *universitas*, totality.

§ 15. Consequently the group *Haurvatât-Ameretât* signifies either *health-immortality* or *totality-immortality*.

The first meaning is clear and precise, the second is neither clear nor precise. There is no room to waver between the two translations and to the question put at the commencement of this chapter, have Haurvatât and Ameretât an abstract significance? the etymology replies: Yes, Haurvatât and Ameretât are *health* and *not-dying*.

II

§ 16. Tradition, like etymology, gives them an abstract meaning. Is it in its interpretation of this meaning in harmony with etymology? Yes, for Ameretât in which it observes "that which produces immortality (*amrtyu-pracâra.*)" [1] No, for Haurvatât, and this arises from the very nature of things. The two primitive meanings of *haurva*, *servus* and *salvus* (preserving and preserved), had in effect proceeded from its ordinary use in Zend; the Parsis only perceived in it its last meaning and the remotest from the first meaning, the meaning of *all*. It was thus absolutely impossible for them to recognise in Haurvatât *that which preserves, health*, and they were unable to bethink themselves of inquiring of the dog *paçus-haurva* for references to the Amshaspand Haurvatât. They were compelled to give up the meaning of *all*, the only one that they might know; they did not translate the word by *totality*, an expression which offered no meaning, but giving to the suffix *tât* an active sense they produced from *haurvatât* "that which produces all, *sarva-pracâram.*" [2] But in doing this they gave to the suffix *tât* a sense which it does not

1 Neriosangh 17,18. 2 Neriosangh 17,17.

possess. Here indeed the grammarians of India seem to come to the aid of their Persian brethren. They declare that the suffix *tâti* (from which is derived the Zend suffix *tât*) is employed as well *kare* as *bhâve*, that is to say for denoting the agent as much as for marking condition, and that for example *çivatâti* signifies as well "he who renders blessed" as "the condition of the blessed." [1] But in reality *çivatâti* "who renders blessed" is infinitely remote from *haurvatât* "who produces all"; in the first expression *çiva* is an attribute, in the second *haurva* would be an object and in *haurvatât*, as it is translated, *tât* is no more a suffix; it is a verbal root employed with verbal force. *Civatâti* is a secondary derivative and the sense given to *haurvatât* would be a compound of it.

Then the word *haurvatât* cannot signify "that which produces all." But this does not prevent its being given such a meaning, the primitive sense being forgotten and nothing in the main being more natural and more legitimate, because Haurvatât had *in fact* become "the deity who produces all." Haurvatât and Ameretât, the deities of the waters and of the plants, were from this very fact the divinities of material goods, the divinities of *Abundance*. What then came to pass when an attempt at explaining their names was made? Ameretât remained safe by the real transparency of his name, while Haurvatât was betrayed by the false transparency of that of his: since *haurva* signifies "*all*" and Haurvatât is the deity of abundance, it necessarily followed for the Parsis that *haurvatât* is "that which produces all." Haurvatât has then with tradition as with us an abstract significance; but it is a significance which originates from its material attributes and which follows instead of preceding them (compare § 12). It has nothing in common with the primitive abstract significance which the etymology discloses to us, it is subsequent to the transfor-

1 Panini 4,4,143. çiva-çam-arishtasya kare (tâtil) i. e. the suffix tati is employed in the sense of "he who makes" after *çiva, çam, arishta; çivasya-karaḥ*, says the scholiast, is equivalent to çivatâti.—For *sarvatâti*, see § 50.

mation of Haurvatât into the deity of the waters: instead of leading us back to the first period of its history it leads us to the last phase of its development.

It is with this phase that the interpretations of Plutarch and of M. Spiegel harmonize. With Plutarch the fifth Amshaspand is the god of riches, *theos ploutou.* It is nearly the *Gott der Fülle* (god of Fulness) of M. Spiegel. The expression of M. Spiegel is more precise than that of Plutarch who is wrong in raising ideas which are not directly connected with the idea of Haurvatât; Haurvatât is not the deity of money nor of gold talents; he is the deity of natural riches, of material well-being. We shall employ the word *Abundance* to denote this characteristic at this stage of his history.

III

§ 17. We now pass on to the study of the texts which are related to this period.

The Parsis inform us that formerly each Amshaspand had his particular *Yast.*[1] That of Ameretât is lost, that of Haurvatât we still possess but in a lamentable condition of its text.[2] One thing however which is very clearly observed notwithstanding the extreme corruption of the fragment is that Haurvatât can only claim its title and the first three lines: the rest is perfectly foreign. No astonishment is to be expressed at this: we know that the Mazdiasnian deities are not on this point jealous deities and provided they have the title of the prayer and the commencing benediction, they easily give up the rest to strangers. If they are not the heroes of the Yast, they are its titulary deities and the faithful may be at peace with his conscience.[3] But the very three lines consecrated to

1 Anquetil, Zend Avesta II, 143. The Yasts are "prayers accompanied by an efficacious blessing, in the form of panegyrics which put forth the principal attributes of the celestial spirits and their connection with Ahurmazd and his productions." (Anquetil, ibidem II 699.)

2 *Westergaard's Edition* p 155.

3 In the Yast consecrated to Zamiâd, the tutelary spirit of earth, this spirit is not even once invoked.

Haurvatât have nothing which applies more particularly to him than to Ameretât. They apply to the deity of Abundance, whoever he be, and one might substitute there Ameretât for Haurvatât without giving any notice of the change. It is probable that the lost yast of Ameretât did not differ from this, at least in the introductory formula, except in the name of the titulary deity. Here is this formula :—

Mraot ahurô mazdâo çpitamâi zarathustrâi azem dadhãm haurvatâtô narãm ashaonãm avâoçca rafnâoçca baoshnâoçca qîtâoçca. Ahura mazda said to the very holy Zarathustra : it is I who, for the sake of pure men, have created the helps, the pleasures, the enjoyments, and the good things of Haurvatât. [1]

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1 M. Spiegel translates : these joys, purities, properties of Haurvat (*diese* Erfreuungen, *Reinheiten*, Eigenthümlichkeiten des Haurvat). I find it difficult to see a demonstrative in *avâoç* ; the two words avâoçca rafnâoçca forcibly bring to my mind the dvandva *avaçca rafnâçca*, (Yc 57, 20 ; Yt 10, 5, 13, 1.) I connect *baoshnâoç* with the root *bhug*, to play (with which one must perhaps also connect, in spite of tradition, the expression *pouru baokhshnahê*, Yç 9, 84). I doubt if *qîtâoçca* can be derived from *qaêtu* and *qaêti* or *qaê* is not the guna of a root *qi* (compare the Sanscrit *svay-am*). I decompose it into *hu-îtâo* and compare it with the Vedic *su-vita*=suita (See Benfey's glossary of the Sama Veda s.v.) As to the termination compare the accusative neuters such as *vactrâoçcà*. This etymology substitutes a precise for a vague sense given to the word *qîti* in the following line of the 10th Yast 68 ; (Mithrahê) daêna mazdayaçnis *qîti pâthô râdhaiti* : (to Mithra) the Mazdiasnian law for well going opens the ways or to Mithra the Mazdiasnian law opens easy routes (*qîti*=suiti is the instrumental case and signifies, word for word, with good walk.) Thus interpreted this expression *qîti pâthô râdhaiti* is found literally reproduced in the Vedic hemistich, *patho radantî suvitâya* (devi), the goddess pointing out the ways for going well, Rig Veda 5,80,3 ; compare 1,90,4. There remains the enigmatical *qîtica êneitî* of Yç 30,11, translated by Neñosengh *abhilâshukaçca çixâyâh*. Perhaps *çixâ* is the translation of *qîti* (good way, good direction.) Let us quote the translation of Anquetil : I have given Khordad to pure men, that he may procure them pleasures, that he may bless them, that he may continually give them good things and abundance.

In this passage Haurvatât is no more the particular deity of waters, he is in an abstract and general way the deity of Abundance.

§ 18. We have already said that this very formula is probably applicable to Ameretât. This formula indeed, as the words *dadhãm ashaonãm*, "I have given for the pure" prove it, considers Haurvatât in his celestial functions; but these functions are common to him with Ameretât and we already know that both "are the wages of the pure who pass into the other world, *mîjdem ashaonãm parô-açti gaçeñtãm.*" (§ 8.) Nothing then is more natural and, if the habitual notions of symmetry which prevail in the Avesta be considered, nothing is more necessary than this hypothesis. Now this hypothesis easily explains the obscure definition which Plutarch gives of Ameretât: *ton epi tois kalois hedeon demiourgos*, the producer of pleasures for the civilised (*i. e.* for refined men). The looseness and the perplexity of the expression prove that we are here in the face of a translation. What happened when the doctors had to explain to the Greeks what the last two Amshaspands were? In their eyes both were the deities of Abundance and as the name of Haurvatât, such as they conceived it (compare § 16), expressed this quality, it was translated by a single equivalent word, *ploutou theos* deity of riches. As the name of Ameretât did not express it, the necessity arose of explaining his nature otherwise than by translating his name: the first line of his Yast was taken hold of, *azem dadhãm ashaonãm ameretâtô* avâoçca rafnâoçca &c, I have created for the pure the enjoyments of Ameretât &c. Hence this definition was drawn: Ameretât is *he who produced enjoyments for the pure*, he who in Pehlvi gave every thing as *pavan nîvakân sîrîn dâtâr*, whence in Greek *epi tois kalois hedeon-demiourgos*, for the civilised (*i. e.* refined men) the pleasure-producer. [1]

1 The book of Plutarch recognises the Ameshaspands only as abstract deities. It would be imprudent to conclude from this that they had not as yet acquired their material attributes at the epoch to which the work

§ 19. Haurvatât and Ameretât preside the one over the 6th, the other over the 7th day of the month; they have therefore their place in the formulas of the Sirozah.[1] Here is that of Haurvatât:

Haurvatâtem ameshem çpeñtem yazamaidê,

Yâiryâm hushitîm yazamaidê *çareda* ashavana ashahê ratavô yazamaidê.[2]

M. Spiegel translates: "We invoke Haurvatât, the Amesha-çpeñta; we invoke the annual good dwelling; the pure years, lords of purity. According to M. Spiegel, Haurvatât the deity of the waters, is placed in connection with good dwelling, because water is everywhere an essential condition of a good dwelling and in dry Iran more than anywhere else. (§ 2) There is no doubt that it is a comfort everywhere over the world to have water close at hand and it is certain that housekeepers very much appreciate houses where the water flows over the sink; I can however hardly believe that *hushiti* has the particular meaning which is given to it here and that it stands to Haurvatât in the relation indicated. *Hushiti* has the meaning of "*good dwelling*" only for the etymologist; for the language it has acquired a meaning larger and more general. Sometimes, it is true, Neriosangh translates it according to the etymology *samvatsarânâm sunivasitâm*[3]

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belongs, viz., 4th century B. C. (Plutarch has probably drawn his information from Theopompus; compare the treatise of Isis and Osiris § 47 and Windischmann's Mithra, p. 56). The understanding of the last two authors really presupposes their transformation into concrete deities. (cf. § 16). It is only right to say that Plutarch has drawn from an ideal source (cf. § 28).

1 Sirozah=30 days. It is a series of invocations addressed to the deities who preside over the 30 days of the month. There are two of them, one great and one small; the latter or the first Sirozah is an abridgement of the other.

2 Sirozah II, 6.

3 Neriosangh, 6, 17.

and in this he follows the Pehlvi translation, *santânn humânisnis*; but there is no necessity, even for the sake of the translators, to draw any deduction thence about the meaning which the word once had. It is indeed known that the faithful adherents of the system of ordinary translation in the East apply themselves as much as possible to translating each word of a compound separately; they do not translate *hushiti*, they translate *hu* and *shiti* and give the meaning of the parts of the word and not that of the resulting compound. From Neriosangh's translating it by *nivâsitâ* it does not necessarily follow that it has the meaning of *nivâsitâ*. To understand then the sense he gives to it one must find out other passages where the translation is less literal. But in passages absolutely similar,[1] instead of *nivâsitâ* he gives *sug'îvani*, that is to say the very word which he employs for translating the Zend *hug'yâiti, good dwelling, well being, yaçna* 32,5; (cp. § 33,25). Then *hushiti* is *well-being* and this sense is confirmed by the Vedic Sanscrit; the root *xi* in truth marks less the idea of "*habitation*" (dwelling) in the French sense of the word than the idea of "*repos*" (rest) which the word implies. *Suxiti* is not "good dwelling" but the happiness of a calm life and is one of the forms of *svasti*:

vîhi svastim suxitim *divo nrn* (6. 2. 11.)

"From the height of the sky, send to mankind felicity, *well being*." *isham ûrg'am* suxitim *viçvam âbhâh* (10, 20, 10).

"He has carried to all vigour, strength, *well-being*." [2]

It is then with reason that Neriosangh translates *hushiti* by *sug'îvani*; *hushiti* is well-being and, if it was placed near Haurvatât without an epithet, one could believe that in that formula the primitive sense of this last word, *health*, was still understood. But the epithet *yâirya* which accompanies *hushiti*

1 Neriosangh 1, 18.

2 When opposed to a word expressing the idea of danger, it gives the meaning of *security*: "bhaye cit suxitim dadhe" (1,40,8), in the midst of danger he is tranquil.

determines and limits its sense and at the same time shows that Haurvatât is here the deity of Abundance. In fact *hushitîm yâiryâm yazamaidê* means: "we adore *the well-being of the year*", that is to say the well-being which the year brings on in the course of its productions, Haurvatât appears then here not in its primitive abstract meaning (health) nor in its concrete meaning (deity of the waters) but in its abstract derivative meaning (abundance); the concrete and particular attribute remains expunged and leaves at the first stage the abstract and general attribute which proceeded from it. I say *expunged* and not *absent*, because it is only in the last stage of the analysis that the productions of the year could be ascribed to him as deity of the waters.

The entire formula will be translated :—

"We adore Haurvatât (Abundance) the Amshaspand; we adore the well-being which the course of the year brings on; we adore the years, pure lords of purity."

§ 20. Let us now pass on to the corresponding invocation addressed to Ameretât;

Ameretâtem ameshem çpeñtem yazamaidê—fshaoni vâthwa yazamaidê—açpinâca yavînô yazamaidê—gaokerenem çûrem mazdadhâtem yazamaidê (2nd Sirozah, 7).

"We adore Ameretât, the Amshaspand, we adore the fat flocks, the abundance of harvests; we adore the Gaokerena, powerful, created by Mazda."

Some words are necessary to justify this translation. I translate *fsohaoni* as a qualificative of *vâthwa*; M. Spiegel appears to make it a substantive of which *vâthwa* would be the attribute and translates "the abundance which concerns the cattle" (*die Fülle welche das Vieh betrifft*). But *vâthwa* is certainly a substantive and nothing but that.[1] If there is a desire then of making a substantive of *fshaoni*, it is necessary to

1 Vide Justi's Manual s. v.

construe the two words in parallel lines. This is what M. Justi does who translates "fatness and cattle" (*Fettigkeit und Herden*, vide his Manual sub *fshaoni*) and regards the two dual feminine nouns *fshaoni vãthwa* as the two members of a dvandva. But if the two following terms *açpinâca yavînô* are considered, of which the first is still a dual and the second a genitive which must depend on it, the dvandva is found to exist not between *fshaoni* and *vãthwa*, a circumstance which leaves the dual *açpinâ* unexplained, but between *fshaoni vãthwa* on the one hand and *açpinâca yavînô* on the other. That *fshaoni* might be an adjective is what M. Justi himself recognises in translating the corresponding expression of the first sirozah "*fshaonibya vãthwâbya*" by "für die fette Herde" (for the fat cattle, see his Manual, s *fshaoni*); and it is this which proves, as far as evidence goes, the epithet of *fshaoni* given to the female deity, *Drvâçpa*. We shall translate then *fshaoni vãthwa*, as M. Justi translates *fshaonibya* vãthwâbya, that is to say by "the fat cattle." [1]

In *açpinâca yavînô* one had at the commencement of his Zend studies recognised the Açvins, the two young cavaliers;

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1 *Fshaoni* may undoubtedly be used as a substantive. So in Yast 5,26 Yima asks Ardvîçûra *uyê fshaonîca vãthwâcâ*, but the text takes good care to warn the reader against such a construction by the use of *uyê* and by the repetition of *ca*.—The sense of *fat* is the result of Neriosangh's gloss *fshaonyêhê=sphîtayasi* (thou fattenest Yç 11,6).—As to its etymology it appears to me impossible to fasten the word upon a compound of *çu*, as M. Justi proposes. *Fshaoni* that is to say *fshavani* (compare *ashaonîm* =ashavanim) is easily explained as the feminine of an adjective *pushavan* whence *fshavan* (compare *fshanh*, a band=*paçanh*). This adjective is formed of the root *push*, which is found in an inverted form in the Zend *fshû* and which signifies in the Vedas *to grow* and *to cause to grow*: asmin *pushyantu gopataû* (10,19,3), may my cows thrive well, Agni being their shepherd; *kratum pushyasi gâ iva* (3,45,3), thou causest our strength to increase as our cattle. The epithet of *fshaoni* given to Drvâçpâ, the divinity who causes horses and more generally cattle to thrive, brings to one's mind quite naturally *Pûshan paçupâ*, Pushan the protector of cattle; the epithet of the one is the epithet of the other.

an error natural and inevitable in the beginning of his knowledge and with an affinity of sound before him so strikingly similar to the *yuvânâ açvinâ* of the Vedas. M. Spiegel has pointed out in a convincing way that the question of the Açvins could not be entertained (Commentary II, 322): nowhere else, neither in the texts nor in tradition does there appear a single allusion to the worship of the Açvins. The only being who recalls them to mind is a daeva, *nâonhaithya* (Sanscrit *nâsatyâ*). On the other hand wherever the expression *açpinâ yavînô* is met with, the context indicates, as it does here, that the point in question relates to natural productions. Tradition gives a translation which all at once satisfies both sense and etymology. Neriosangh translates *upacitim dhânyânâm*, "heap of grain"; the Pehlvi translation is *afzûnîk-ic-î-gûrtâyân*, "the increase of grain." In other words *açpin* signifies "increase" and *yavînô*, "of the grain." Now these two texts are easily verified; *yavîno* or better *yavanô* (a different reading furnished by a number of manuscripts) [1] is the genitive of a nominative *yavan*, a collective noun from *yava*, the generic name for grain, and this word *yavan* is found again in Persian in the word *g'avân*, turned into a particular name for rice, just as *g'av* derived from *yava* has become the particular name for barley. The word *açpinâ*, a dual similar to *vâthwa*, comes from the word *açpin* formed of the abridged preposition *â* [2] and the root *çpin=çpen* [3] a secondary form of the root *çu* [4]=to swell, to grow. *Açpinâ*

1 Spiegel l. c. This different reading has for it: 1° the form *yaonibya*, (the reduction of *ava* into *ao* is a normal fact, though I do not find an example of *avi* giving *ao*); 2° the Persian *g'avân*: see the continuation of the text.

2 For examples of the abridged *â* see Justi's Manual. p. 358, § 12.

3 *En* becomes *in* in *cina=çana*, in *minu* compared with the Sanscrit *mani*, in the plurals in *iñti=eñti* &c.

4 See Justi s. v. *çpan*, The word *çpanvañti* (Yt. 21, 4) is rendered in the Pehlvi translation by *afzâyat*, that is by the verb of which the noun has served to render *açpen*. A new proof that *açpin* is really *â+çpen*.

yavanô then properly signifies, as the Parsis mainatin, the growth of grain. [1]

If we now take up the whole formula again, we find the fat flocks, the rich pastures, the Gaokerena connected with Ameretât. We need not conclude from his first attribute that Ameretât enters into competition with Vohumanô, the deity of flocks [2];

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1 M. Spiegel, after having so well shown that *açpinâ yavanô* has nothing in common with the young cavaliers suddenly gives up for *açpinâ* the tradition which he follows for *yavanô*. In the latter he finds horses for want of horsemen and translates "the pastures for horses." Not knowing upon what this translation rests, it is difficult to dispute it.—Windischmann (*Zoroastriche Studien* p. 257, note 2) sees horsemen in *açpina*, but these horsemen are no more the Açvins of old, they are Haurvatât and Ameretât. The same observation as that made previously may be made here. The corresponding passage of the first Sirozah gives *açpinibya yaonibya*, a reading which would appear to support one's seeing a genitive in *yavanô*. There is nothing however in it than a phenomenon of rhythmical attraction brought about by the identical terminations of the three preceding words, *fshaonibya, vâthwâbya, açpinibya*. This is rendered manifest by the curious variant of a manuscript which substitutes vâthwanibya for vâthwâbya (Westergaard 149, 3, note 2).

2 It is proper to estimate here an endeavour made to assign this character, if not to Ameretât in particular, at least to the couple. Here are the circumstances in which it is made. Chapter 5 and 37 of the Yaçna § 9 contain the following invocation: ashem at vahistem yazamaidê—vohuca manô yazamaidê—vohuca khsathrem—vanuhimca daenâm *vanuhîmca fçêratâm* vanuhimca ârmaitim. M. Spiegel (commentary II, 306) starting from the point that ashem vahistem, vohumanô, vohu khshathrem, and vanuhi ârmaitis are four ameshaspands, concludes that *fçêratu* indicates the two last, but he is quite at a loss as to how to deal with *vanuhidaêna*. The Parsis had followed the same inference and Neriosang translates Uttamâm dinim açavahistim—*uttamam adhipatitvam avirdâdam amirdâdam;* in other words *vanuhîm daênâm* represents *ashavahista* and *fçêratu* represents *Haurvatât Ameretât*. But *ashavahista* has already been invoked as usual before the Ameshaspands and to find him again in *vanuhim daênâm* is to make needless repetition. Besides *vanuhî daêna* is a distinct deity, having his atributes, his yast, and his day in the month and one out of whom an ameshaspand cannot be created without violence. Then the premise of the argument is false and there is in the invocation cited something else than

cattle and pastures here form a dvandva and the first are addressed through the second which alone are directly connected with Ameretât. In the case of pastures Ameretât, the deity of plants, plays his part fully. Similar is the case with Gaokerena and for a double reason; in the first place it is because Gaokerena is the king of plants, their *ratu*, and in the second place because Gaokerena is the plant of inmortality. This brings us back to the question of the primitive significance of Haurvatât-Ameretât.

Ameshaspands. This is silently acknowledged by the Pehlvi translation which does not seek to indentify *sipîr dîn* (*vanuhîm daênâm*), although it, like Neriosangh, sees in *fçêratu qordat* and *amurdat*. If *daêna* is not an ameshaspand, a doubt may arise for *fçêratu*. And the doubt only increases if one considers the Sanskrit and Pehlvi terms which translate it: *adhipatitva* and *çardâris i. e.* domination. A singular name for the deities of waters and plants. Here comes in M. Justi (Vide Manuel s. v.): *fçêratu* is a contraction of *paçu-ratu* and means *domination over cattle*. Be it so, but it is somewhat surprising that Neriosangh renders "cattle" by a preposition (adhi) and that the Pehlvi does not render it at all. Let us then consult other examples where *fçêratu* appears, to see if we find therein any trace of cattle. Chapter XIV., § 17 contains another invocation to *vanuhyâo fçêratvô*; the Pehlvi translates, as it did just before, *sipîr çardâris i qordat u amurdat*, the good domination of qordat and Amurdat. But Neriosangh does no more see here *avirdâda* or *amurdâda*; he only sees *uttamam svâmitvam*, excellent domination, and adds in a gloss: that is the action of exercising excellent domination over everything (*kila svâmitvam vastuni uttamam karomi*).

In an absolutely identical passage (39, 15) the Pehlvi translation corroborating Neriosangh but disclosing Haurvatât-Ameretât in the midst, says pann zake sipîr çardâris, amat çardâris pann frârûnis nehagannam, with *good domination*, namely, when I exercise domination with justice. There are we far off from our couple and here is *fçêratu* strangely withdrawing from it, to place itself by the side of Vohu-khshathra, good royalty. In another place (33, 12) the faithful asks Ahura to give him

ashâ hazô êmavat vohû mananhâ fçêratûm,

"(give us) by purity (that is by means of or in compensation for purity) the strength which triumphs over the violent and in return for Good Thought (give) domination (*pann zake vohuman çârdâris*). Finally in the last passage (50, 4) the poet inquires where *çpeñta ârmaiti* is, where excellent thought, where Power and *Kuthrâ ârôis â* fçératu; the Pehlvi translation is *aîgh bûnîk çardâris ratu dîn bârtârân*, where is the perfect domination of masters

IV.

§ 21. We have seen in the previous paragraphs the abstract significance which our couple possesses in the eyes of the Parsis; we have also seen that this was not then their primitive significance, for it is derived from their material attributes which are not primitive. They are the deities of Abundance only because they are the deities of natural productions and their names are

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who carry the law; in other words, where is the domination which is exercised according to the law (*árôis*, root *ári*, compare *ára*, perfect, *árois â* = according to perfection).

What then remains in favour of the comparison of *fçératu* with the couple Haurvatât-Ameretât? A hasty inference of the Parsi translations drawn from a passage, an inference which the very text it interprets rejects and which the Parsis themselves feel obliged to reduce to nothing by the translation they give of other passages. To recapitulate, the invocation which has given rise to this inference is not addressed to the Ameshaspands, but to four Ameshaspands only, between whom are thrust two divinities or abstractions having connection with two of them. Indeed daêna is from its character a near relative of Armaîti, *fcératu* being "domination" according to the Pehlvi text and supreme domination according to Neriosangh (adhipatitvam) is one of the attributes of khshathravairya.

The significance of fçératu being established, the origin of the word becomes quite a matter of indifference. Neriosangh's translation however give it easily. It is useless to talk of M Justi's paçuratu and of domination over cattle. In none of the texts where fçératu appears have we perceived even the shadow of a sheep. Besides how is it that this *e* is derived from *u*? On searching in the phonetic portion of the Manual for examples of this transformation, I find only one and that is not much. From *fçératu* = *adhipatitva* results *fçé—adhi.* that is to say that *fçé* expresses an idea either identical with or equivalent to *adhi.* Let us replace *ratu* by *khshathra* which is its equivalent.

Has the zend *khshathra* a compound equivalent to the Sanskrit *adhixatra*? Yes; the compound *vaçôkhshathra*=he who rules as he likes. But *vaçô* appears with the *ô* changed into *e* in *vaçé-shéiti, vaçé khshayañt* &c.

If the *a* drops off, the *v* before a strong sibilant is necessarily changed into a hard one (this change also takes place before a soft sibilant, compare the Persian *afzudan* with regard to the Parsi *awazâêt*). Then *fçératu*=*vaçô-ratû*. It is then indeed *adhipatitva*, boundless domination, the empire of a king *vaçêkhshayañt, vaçêkhshathrô*.

irreducible to this last notion because these names signify Health and Not-dying. The conclusion which obtrudes itself upon us is this: Haurvatât and Ameretât, before being the deities of waters and of plants, were the deities of Health and of Not-dying, the deities who preserve mankind from disease and from death.

§ 22. In the previous chapter we have established that the material objects over which they preside viz., waters and plants, were in close union in the Avesta; we ought now to establish the same fact for their abstract objects. While the first sense of Haurvatât-Ameretât was worn away and forgotten, the very things which their name represented remained always connected in the mind of the Iranians and they continued to express the idea which this dvandva, that lost its meaning afterwards, had expressed, in a series of dvandvas. These retained their meaning, because the terms of which they were made up did not crystallize into names of divinities, because they kept their etymological significance, and because they, instead of becoming names of persons, remained as words of the current language. Let us particularly mark out two of these dvandvas, the one direct, the other indirect.

§ 23. Dvandva direct:

Tanvô—drvatât, *—daregôg'îti ustânahê*. The first expression *tanvô-drvatât* literally signifies *solidity of the body*, which is only a circumlocution for translating the idea of *health*, an idea which the Pehlvi and Persian languages translate by a circumlocution of identical sense and composed of identical words: *tan duruçtî*.[1]

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1 *Tan* is the Zend *tanu*; *duruçti* is the abstract noun from *duruçt*, vigorous, strong. *Duruçt* is explained by atheoretical form *drvaç-ta*, formed by the addition of the suffix *ta* to a neuter *drvanh* (the state of him who is strong), which has the same connection with the Vedic neuter *dhruvas* (same meaning as that of *drvanh*) as the Zend *drva* has with the Sanscrit *dhruva*.—For this way of rendering the idea of health compare the Vedic verse: *sthirair angair.....tanûbhir* vyaçema devahitam yad âyus (1,89,8,)

The second expression is a synonym for *not-dying*. Neriosangh translates it *dîrgham g'îvitam g'ivasya* and the Pehlvi *dêr zîvasnis i g'ân i. e.* the long life of vital strength.

Hence it is that the faithful, after having asked of Haoma as a first favour a place in the Behest, asks as a second favour *drvatâtem anhâoçe tanvô* and as a third favour *dareghog'îtîm ustânâhe.*

The Afrigân Gahambâr (§ 14), after having called on the heads of princes strength, victory, sovereignty, and long sway, wishes them *dareghôg'îtîm ustânahê, drvatâtem tanubyô.*

§ 24. Dvandva indirect: *yaçkaçca mahrkaçca*, sometimes *akhtisca mahrkaçca*,[1] disease and death.

When Yima receives from Ahurmazda the royalty of the earth, he stipulates that there shall not be beneath his sway either cold wind or hot wind, *either disease or death*, (nôit mana khshathrê bvat aotô vâtô, noit garemô, nôit akhtis, nôit marhko, Vendidad II, 15).

Thrita is the first of human healers, the first who drove back *sickness to sickness*, who drove back *death to death*,[2] (yaçkem yaçkâi dârayat, mahrkem mahrkâi dârayat, Vendidad 20, 11).

When the ceremonies of exorcism are performed by an uninitiated person, the Drukhs, becoming more powerful than before, causes *disease*, *death*, and the working of the demon to increase (*aesha drukhs yâ naçus ashaog'açtara varedhayêiti yatha para ahmât açhâ aêtê* yaçka *hâ aêtê* mahrka *hâ aêtê paitydra ahmatha yatha paraeit* Vend. 9, 175).

"with strong limbs let us touch upon (*i. e.* receive) a fixed age for (our) bodies from the gods."—There is the same idea in the Persian *darmân* remedy, identical in form with the Sanscrit *dharman* and which one could define in the style of a commentator: yad *dhârayati* (*dhruvam* karoti) tat.

1 *Yaçka* is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *yaxma*, fever, disease; *akhtis*, is identical with the Armenian *akht*, disease.

2 Who smote disease from disease and death from death, that is to say the first who overcame them (compare § 37).

Mayest thou be able, says Zoroastre to Hystaspe, mayest thou be able to have a good life, a high life, a long life *(vohu-g'îti uç-g'îti dareghô-g'îti)*,.....mayest thou be able to be victorious as Verethragna, shining as Râma qâçtra, free *from sickness and from death* as Kava Huçrava *(ayaçkem amahrkemca* bavâhi yatha Kava huçrava).[1] We shall erelong meet with another direct dvandva *tévishi utayûti* (V. § 29, 3).

§ 25. Just then as in the previous chapter (§ 10), with regard to the couple Haurvatât-Ameretât considered as ruling over material objects, we have met with the group *âpô-urvarâo* made up of the same objects, so with regard to this couple considered in their abstract significance, we find corresponding groups formed of the abstractions which they rule over. But this second correlation is indeed more important than the first, because it permits us to have a glimpse into the origin of the couple and to solve the question placed at the end of the previous chapter (§ 11). We shall then inquire if the deity of the waters and the deity of the plants formed a pair because their objects formed a pair or whether their union was traceable to a more ancient period of their history. We can for the present reply that this latter hypothesis is the true one. We cannot yet say how they gained the empire of the waters and of the woods; but we can say that before their gaining it they already formed a pair, because they were at their birth the deities of health and of long life and because these two notions form with the Iranians a natural dvandva. The pairs of the deities are not always double; the deities are such.

V.

§ 26. As deities of the waters and of the plants Haurvatât and Ameretât have for their adversaries thirst and hunger (§ 9). But the latter are not their adversaries from the beginning: being the deities of health and of immortality they *were*

1 Afrîn—paighâmbar—Zartust § 1 and § 8—compare also Vendidâd 9, 187; 20, 8, 13, 19, 25; 21, 6, 7—Yast 3, 7; 14, 47 &c.

to have for their counter-Amshaspands Disease and Death. It is with this conception that, I believe, the names of their counter-amshaspands are connected. We have seen already (§§ 8-9) that these names are Târic and Zâric and that the Parsis recognise in them the daêvas of Hunger and of Thirst. This inference was natural; recognising no other adversaries to our two deities and observing them on the other hand to fight against Târîc and Zârîc, the idea of doubting that Târîc was the daêva of Thirst and Zârîc that of Hunger could not for a moment strike them. These two names, having become proper nouns and consequently devoid of all etymological meaning, could not however raise any objection to the meaning which was imposed on them.

The Zend form of *Zârîc* is *Zairica*, that is to say by suppressing the first *i* brought about by epenthesis, *zarica*. This brings us back to the root *Zar*, Sanscrit *g'ar*, to wear out of old age, to waste away; *zarica* means wasting [1] away and is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *g'aras*, *g'ariman*. The Zend *zairica*, like the vedic *g'aras*, is the natural form of death: *na mamâra na g'îryati*, he does not die, he does not waste away, says the Atharva (10,8,32). *G'ar* is to *mar* what the cause is to the effect; to ask for escape from *g'aras* decay, and to ask for immortality are identical things:—

Daxinâvanto amrtam bhag'ante
daxinâvanto pra tiranta âyuh.
Ma prnanto duritam ena âran
mâ g'ârishus sûrayas suvratâsah (Rv. I, 125,6,7).

"The mortals liberal towards the priest receive for their share not-dying; the mortals liberal towards the priest prolong their life.

May the faithful not fall in the painful way and affliction!

May the devout persons faithful to the law escape wasting away!" [2]

1 As to the formation compare *vic-ica*, mortar, from *vic*, to seperate.

2 I translate *suvratâsah* as I would translate the Zend *huvarenâo*, "*behdinan*" as the Parsis would say. The Sanskrit *vratâ* appears to me to be the

Let us personify the Vedic *g'aras* and we shall have the Parsi *Zârîc* :

Na hy asyâ (Indrânî) aparam cana *g'arasâ* marate patis (10,86,11).

"The husband of Indrâni will not die *from the strokes of Zârîc.*"

Yuvam cyavânam *g'araso* mumuktam (7,71, 5).

"You have delivered cyavâna from Zârîc."

Zaric then is not the daêva of hunger, but the daêva of wasting away : the Gaokerena created according to the Bundehesh for driving back old age, *zarmân* (Sanscrit *g'ariman*), is only a weapon against Zârîc (§ 33). Zârîc is the *Zarmân* personified, it is not the adversary of Ameretât, the deity of the plants, but of Ameretât, the deity of not-dying.

§ 26. **A.** Let us pass to Târîc, who should be the daêva of disease, if the previous comparison is exact. *Târîc* supposes a root *tar* [1] : this root signifies in Sanskrit *to cross, to pierce,* and gives in Greek *t e i r o* (*t e r - i o*), to pierce and *t i t r o s k o* to wound. In Sanskrit, weakened into *tur* (vide Grassmann's Vedic Lexicon s. v.), it gives *tura* and *â-tura* sick. Soma "heals every one who is sick," *bhishakti viçvam yat turam,* (10, 25, 11). The poet, addressing the Açvins, exclaims, *gatam bhishag'yatam yad âturam* (8, 22, 10), "do you come to heal

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equivalent of the Zend *varenô*. It is formed like the other from the root *var* (to revere) with the suffix *atâ* which has the meaning of the Latin suffix *—endus* (compare *yag'atâ, darçatâ*). For the dropping off of *a* before a liquid, compare *cakrus*=-*cakarus, gnâ*=*ganâ*=Zend *ghena. Vratâ,* like *varenô,* is then "he who ought to be respected."

1 The Zend forms *tauru, taurvi* are derived from the root *taurv,* to smite, to beat, which is only an enlargement of *tar* (*tar-v,* Sanscrit *turv*). The Parsi form *tâvarz* (Justi's Bundehesh, vocabulary s. v.) is certainly incorrect, as M. Justi remarks. It ought undoubtedly be read *târvaz,* which brings us again to *tarv* by an intermediate Zend form *taurvica,* parallel to *tairica* (whence has spring *târîc).*

him who is sick. Let a like appeal addressed to Haurvatât, the deity of health, be supposed and it will be understood how Haurvatât has *Târîc* for his counter-amshaspand. *Bhishakti viçvam yat turam*, applied to Haurvatât, will be translated; "he heals the blows of *Târîc*."

§ 27. Where the Avesta said: Haurvatât and Ameretât will at the end of ages destroy *hunger and thirst*, the Bundehesh says, will destroy *Târîc and Zârîc*. The Parsis see in these two phrases the expression of only one and the same thing: we see in them two conceptions absolutely different and of different times. The last, that of the Bundehesh, is the most ancient and leads us back to the primitive meaning of the two deities. The Bundehesh is here more ancient than the Avesta; I do not wish to say that the writers of this book still understood the meaning of the formula they employed, but this formula is of the date of the early times of Haurvatât-Ameretât, while that of the Avesta is of the date of their last significance. The comparison of these two formulas gives the two extreme points of their history; at one extremity, Health and Immortality fighting with Disease and Death, at the other extremity, the deities of the Waters and of the Plants fighting with Thirst and Hunger.

Before inquiring how the transition from one of these two conceptions to the other came to pass, we are about to pass through a review of a series of texts relating to our two deities, texts belonging to the obscurest portion of the Avesta, the Gâthâs, and one where the distinction of these two conceptions perhaps throws a ray of light.

VI.

§ 28. The *Gathas* or *songs* are a series of hymns composed in a dialect more ancient than the ordinary Zend and devoted in general to the exposition of the metaphysical and moral principles of Mazdiasnism. The existence of the two principles of good and evil, the essential virtues of a Mazdiasnian, the rewards which await those who are faithful to the

good principle, the punishments reserved for the servants of the daêvas, such are the ordinary subjects of these fragments. The first four Amshaspands, or to be more accurate, the names of the first four Amshaspands play a mighty part in them. Their names are too clear for their sense to be forgotten or for their ceasing to be common nouns. The material features are absent or rare : one is in the presence of abstractions, which some times remain such, at other times are personified, and most frequently are uncertain and fluctuating, leaving one at a loss to conjecture if he is again in the presence of a cardinal virtue or already in the presence of a deity.

But if the material features are wanting, or are less prominent, this does not at all prove that at the epoch when the Gathas were composed the Amshaspands had not yet received or developed these material attributes; the Gathas are from beginning to end only a catechism of metaphysics and ethics; abstract conception, in the very nature of things, is their exclusive mark. It is of very little importance to the moralist who composes them whether Armaiti is the deity of the earth; the only thing that interests him is whether Armaiti is Piety. If Vohumano does not appear in them as the deity of cattle (compare however § 31,1°), it does not at all follow that he was not yet such; for the author of the hymns Vohumano is only one thing and should be only one thing, viz. Good Thought.

If then Haurvatât and Ameretât did not appear in the Gathas as deities of the waters and of the plants, it should not be thence concluded that they were not yet such at the epoch when the Gathas were composed. In fact several passages suppose this meaning to be understood, (§ 30); in all the rest the abstraction prevails. But the abstract meaning which the context gives them is not everywhere the same; in some it is the abstract primitive meaning, in others it is the abstract derivative meaning, that is to say in some they are deities of Health and of Immortality, in other deities of Abundance. But these latter were only able to rise into existence when the

former ones were already transformed into deities of the waters and of the plants (§ 16); the Gathas then involve a complete series of development, they present our two deities at their two extreme points and have formulas for every stage of their development.

Is any conclusion to be hence drawn regarding the chronological order of these fragments? It is a doubtful affair. The archaic form of an idea does not prove that the passage which expresses it is ancient, any more than the archaic form of a language proves its antiquity. To maintain that the Chanson de Roland can only be of the date of the 20th century, because the Italian of Leopardi which is of the 19th century is nearer Latin, would be a rash inference. To maintain that the Bundehesh is more ancient than the Avesta, because the same facts are there often presented in a more archaic aspect, would not be more scientific, and it would not in the main be more reasonable to establish a chronological order between two stanzas according to the sense Haurvatât has therein. One may well say; the idea of stanza X is more ancient than the idea of stanza Y, but it does not follow from that that X is prior to Y. Generations pass on transmitting the formulas and the unions of words: a generation comes who works them up and most often understands them differently, because it reads its own ideas there for itself; it indeed repeats them without altering them in their essential traits, because it believes it understands them, but the sense which it sees there is entirely different from the sense which is there and what it says is different from what it believes and wishes to say. When the Bundehesh means to say "Haurvatât kills thirst" it says "Haurvatât kills disease" and it unconsciously expresses a thought separated from its own by ages (§ 27). In the same way, in a similar stanza of the Gathas, the author expresses the thought of his age and in the next one that of his ancestors.

This reservation being made, we are able to follow in the Gathas the historical career of Haurvatât-Ameretât, from the

point of departure to the point of arrival. These quotations then will be divided into three classes:—

1° Those where they are the deities of Health and Immortality (*primitive abstract meaning*).

2° Those where they are the deities of waters and of plants (*material meaning*).

3° Those where they are the deities of Abundance (*derivative abstract meaning*).

§ 29. Primitive abstract meaning: *Ahmâi anhat vahistem yé môi vîdvâo vaocat haithîm mâthrem* yim Haurvatâtô *ashahyâ* ameretâtaçca (Y. 31,6).

"Let felicity belong to him,[1] who will reveal to me in entire truth, as he knows it, this word of the Pure, *this word of health and immortality.*" Here it is interesting to consult tradition. Farther back Haurvatât was in its estimation "that which produces all" (§ 16): it is now "*that which makes everything go* well off:" *mançr hamârûbashn, aigh hamâ dâm pann zak râç i mançr râvar o kveshish i auhrmazd yeamatûnît,*[2]

1 In other words: he being blessed who..... .....Tradition, always preoccupied with scholastic interests, sees in the first verse the principle of the superiority of doctors of the law over their pupils: *narman îtâ pâhrâm manu o li akâçihâ yema lalâne askâraku rosnak aigh herpat sipîr aigh hâvist*, "he is superior who in his knowledge reveals to me in a way obvious and clear.....that is to say the *herbed* is superior to the disciple." There is indeed in the text somebody who teaches and somebody who wishes to learn, but nothing more, no trace of any scholastic institution. It would be worth as much to see an allusion to a teaching body in the Vedic verse: *acikitvân cikitushaç cid atra kavîn prchâmi vidmane na vidvân*, "not understanding these things I question the sages here present who could understand them with the view of knowing, I who do not know" (1,164,6).

2 *Zak-râç* is a correction of M. Spiegel (Commentary II. 239). The text has *rak-râç*. I transcribe *auhrmazd* in place of the traditional reading *anhûmâ* which has still a great many followers, although the true reading has long since been shown by M. Westergaard (Zend Avesta, preface, p. 20 note 2) and demonstrated by M. Garrez (Journal asiatique 1869, II, 195 sq). —I represent by *l* the Semitic *l* and by *r* the modern Persian *r*, whatever may be the Pehlvi character which represents them (*l* or *r* or *n*). It is

"the word which makes everything go on; that is to say the whole creation, by the way of the Word, puts itself under the sway of Hormazd." The process at work observed from this passage (is this): understanding in *haurvatât* no more than the word *haurva*, all, one connects this word with *mãthrem* by keeping an edifying idea understood. We thus come by a *single* stroke to give a meaning to an embarassing word and to edify the faithful: it is doubly profitable. I have separated *ashahyâ* from the two genitives which surround it and have translated by referring it directly to *mãthrem* instead of referring it (ashahyâ) to it (mãthrem) indirectly like the other two (words) through the intermediate *yim* [1];
in other words I make the following word-for-word arrangement:
mãthrem ashahyâ yim haurvatâtô ameretâtaçca.

I believe myself authorized in this by a passage of the same hymn, which is the counter-part of the former:

1° *Mâ cis at vé* dregvatô mãthrãçcâ *gûstâ çaçnâoçca âzî demânem vîçemvâ shôithremvâ daqyûmvâ âdât* dushitâcâ mahrkaêcà (18).

"Let none of you listen to the *Words* and the precepts *of the Perverse;* he would bring into his house, into his town, into his country, into his province, *disease and death.*" [2]

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the only thing to be done when a word is vocalized. The transcription, unfaithful from a paleographical point of view, when the vowels are added, becomes at least phonetically more faithful. The group K N T N N was certainly pronounced *kartann*; to transcribe it *kantann* is to apprehend a fact of writing for a fact of phonetics.

1 If the three genitives were like, the peculiarities of style of the Gathas being admitted, the reading would probably be *ashahyâcâ*.

2 Tradition appears to see in *dushiti*, *dus*+*iti*, Pehlvi *dûsrubasnis*, Neriosangh *dushtâm pravrttim*. It would be necessary then to have a form *dujiti* (compare *dujita*=*dus*+*ita*). *Dushiti* then brings us back, as M. Justi maintains, to the root *dush* (for the suffix, see p. 371, § 220, e). This root signifies, "to put to a bad use, to corrupt"; thence comes the Sanskrit

These two fragments express one and the same idea, the one in a direct form, the other in an indirect one: viz. to the Law of the Good Principle are attached health and immortality. The same idea in a direct form (occurs in the following):—

2° *At fravakhshyâ hyat môî mraot çpeñtôtemô*
vaçé crûidyâi hyat maretaêibyô vahistem
yôi môi ahmâi çeraoshem dãn cayaçca
upa g'imen haurvâtâ ameretâtâ[1] (44,5).

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dosha, "evil" in the general sense of the word and "disease" in a special sense (see s. v. St. Petersburg Dictionary 6 and 7) and *dushti*, corruption. Then etymologically the Zend word *may* signify *disease* and it *ought* to signify so, because it forms part of a couple of which the second term is *mahrca* and it is consequently declared a substitute of *yaxma*, *akhti* (compare § 24).—*Dushitâ* is a locative of the Vedic form (Benfey's Sanskrit Grammar § 302, n 3).—For the construction *daqyûm âdât dushitâ*, let him place the province in disease, compare the absolutely equivalent Vedic construction dyâvâ prthivi ame dhâs, (1,63,1), "you have placed the sky and earth in strength."

1 Vaçé; a new example of the change from *ô*, or to express it better, from *as* into *é* (compare *fçêratu* § 20). The prakrit of Mâghada offers an analogous example; eçe puliçe=*esha purushas* (Vararuci's Grammar XI, 10). As to the third verse M. Spiegel's text places *ahmâi* after *çeraoshem*. I follow M. Westergaard's text whose accuracy is confirmed by the order of words in Neriosangh and in Pehlvi.—Tradition understands *crûidyâi* as a causal verb (to make one hear, to declare); it is wrong; the point in question only turns upon hearing, as the following verse proves.—It is difficult and uninteresting to know if *ahmâi* is connected with *môi* or ought to be taken as a neuter.—Tradition translates *dãn cayaçca* by *âsvâdayati* and *çâshit* "cause to be tasted" *i. e. diffuse, propagate*. This translation gives a reasonable but etymologically impossible meaning. *Cayanh* cannot have any connection with *cash* and imperiously throws one back upon a root *ci*. But which *ci*? M. Justi, pre-occupied with finding the traditional meaning, sees therein the root *ci*, "to accumulate" and translates by "Anhæufung, Ausbreitung" *(accumulation, diffusion)*. I am unable to understand the passage in the first or second sense nor how one can say: *I heaptogether* (the meaning of *ci*) to signify "I diffuse."—But by the side of *ci*, to heap up, there is another root *ci* which signifies *to pay attention*, a Zend and Sanskrit root (Justi *s*, 1, *ci*, 1; St. Petersburg Dictionary, *ci*, 2). *Cayanh dãn* then signifies "to give attention"; it does not introduce a novel idea but com-

"I am going to announce what the very-holy has told me, excellent word for the mortals to listen to; those who for it will lend me their ear, will give me their attention, to them will come *Haurvatât and Ameretât.*"

I personify here the two words because the verse immediately following proves that the point in question is about divinities and not about abstractions: *Vanhéus mananho skyaothnâis mazdâo ahurô.*

"Grace to the acts of Good Thought, to them will come Mazda ahura."

But of what are they here the personification? Of abundance or of health and not-dying? The 10th stanza of the same fragment will give us the answer:

3° *Tém né yaçnâis ârmatôis mimaghjô*[1]
yé ânmainî mazdâo çrâvî ahurô
hyat hôi ashâ vohûcâ côist mananha
khshathrôi hôi haurvâtâ ameretâtâ
ahmâi çtôi dân tévîshî utayûiti.

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pletes *çeraushem dân.*—This root *ci* has developed another secondary root *cit*, which has monopolized the whole of the derivative meaning without however effacing all trace of it; thus in Sanskrit by the side of *cettar*, "an attentive observer" is still found the form *cetar* (St. Petersburg Dictionary s. v.)

1 The Pehlvi translates *mimaghjo* by *maçînasn*; Neriosangh has an unintelligible word *mahâgîs*, but one which proves, as M. Spiegel remarks, that he recognised in *maçînasn* the word *maç*, great. Has he been wrong? I think not. *Maçînasn* is regularly given as a verbal adjective from a verb *maçînîtan*. the causal of *maç* and consequently signifying "to make great." The meaning and etymology perfectly agree with this explanation. *Mimaghjo* is the plural of an adjective *mimaghj* which is nothing else than the desiderative theme of the Sanskrit root *mah*, mimakhsh; this root *mah* signifies "to exalt, to honor a god with sacrifice or hymns" and *yaçnâis mimaghj* brings to one's mind such Vedic formulas as *çamîbhis, suvrktibhis, arkâis mahaya, yag'nam mahayat, adhvaraya mahema* (St. Petersburg Dictionary s. *mah*).—*coist*=*cet-t*; *cit* is one of the roots which denote rel gious thought *(agnim mahayanta cittibhis* 3,3,3.)—In *khshathrôi* tradition naturally sees the Amshaspand *khshathra vairya* and construes it as similar with *haurvâtâ (saharevaram asmâi avirdâdam amirdâdamca)*; a rather clever gramatical construction. In truth *khshathrôi hôi*="are in his circle of rule," *asya pradiçe.* For *çtôi*, see Justi s. v.

"We wish to honour him with the sacrifices of Armaiti (of piety), him who bears the name of supreme wise man,

Whoever directs his thought towards him with purity and good soul, in his power come *Haurvatât* and *Ameretât*, giving to him continuously *strength and duration.*"

Here is a new dvandva which comes to take its place by the side of the couples *tanvô drvatât, dareghô g'îti, yaçkô mahrkaçca* (§ § 23—24), and which expresses in a novel way the first idea implied in the names of the two deities. Here the dvandva is perfect and the duals *tévîshî utayûitî*, correspond, *yathâkramam* (in due order), with the two duals *Haurvatâ Ameretâtâ*. *Tévîsî* is the Vedic *tavishî*, strength. It has the same meaning in the Avesta; Neriosangh translates it in general by *çakti* and the Pehlvi by *tûbânîkîsh*. *Utayûiti* is translated in Sanskrit by *adhyavasâya*, in Pehlvi by *tokhshû*, an expression which gives the meaning of *pertinacity, persistence*; but the persistence in question is passive, the persistence of existence, *duration*. The translation of Neriosangh is here very exact, *amrtyupravrttes amirdâdasya, vyavasâyam*, that is to say "the persistence given by Ameretât who renders immortal." Etymology confirms this meaning; although the editions give only *utayûiti*, I believe that if it be considered how difficult it very frequently is to distinguish *u* from *i* in manuscripts, it will not be considered a rashness to correct *utayûiti* into *itayûiti*, which leads us directly to the Vedic *itaûti*, a corresponding expression in form and sense. As to the form, the insertion of a euphonic *y* for avoiding the hiatus has its analogy in such forms as *uru-yâpa* for *uru-âpa* and also in the middle of simple words, from root to termination.[1] As to the meaning the only difference is that the word, a substantive in Zend, is an adjective in Sanskrit:

Kim svid vanam ka u sa-vrxa âsa,
yato dyâvâprthivî nishtataxus
samtasthâne ag'are itaûtî (10,31,7).

1 Compare Justi, p. 358, § 10.

"Say what wood was it, what tree, whence they cut out the Sky and the Earth, those two immoveable beings, *who do not grow old, who are lasting.*" *Tévîshi* and *utayûiti*, or rather as we shall write henceforth, *itayûiti*, are then the natural attributes of Haurvatât and Ameretât; the deity of Health gives *vigour*, the deity of Not-dying gives *duration*.

4° Ameretâitî *ashaonô urvâ aêshô*
itayûtâ *yâ nerâs çâdrâ dregvatô* (44,7).

"The soul of the pure covets *immortality and duration*, which are close for the perverse."[1]

Ameretât, as we have already observed, is an expression of double significance; not-dying may denote either long terrestrial life, or a celestial and eternal life, which follows the one below. When the idea of future life and of resurrection had produced a precise dogma and one of essential importance in Mazdiasnism, *ameretât* offered no more than the second idea and the first disappeared from the word, because as often as a religious expression is susceptible of two meanings, the most overawing and the most mystic meaning forcibly drives back the ordinary and palpable one. So as often as tradition attaches itself in Ameretât to the etymological meaning, it observes therein the immortality of future life, that which follows the

1 Neriosangh makes of itayûtâ an adjective in the nominative or accusative case. This is impossible, itayûtâ being in its form a locative like ameretâitî; *adhyavasâyino ye narâ âyâsino durgatimantas.* It seems to me impossible to explain this translation grammatically. Neriosangh, putting the terminations, as he often does, at random, is content with giving a translation symmetrical with the terms of the Pehlvi version. The Pehlvi runs: *amat gabrâ (u ?) tang darvand*; *çâdrâ* is in truth ordinarily translated by *tangî* "Straitness" (Spiegel's Commentaries, II, 44). The Pehlvi then appears to signify *while the perverse are pinched hard.* Our translation differs from this only grammatically. *Ya* is a relative, *çâdrâ* is an adjective signifying "strait" and construed as an accusative, because the verbal sense (putting to straits, pressing hard) is still felt. The same passage is cited in Vispered 21,4, in the genitive *nars.....dregvatô*). The sense is that the days of the perverse are numbered.

resurrection of the body, the *tan i paçîn*.[1] Such was the case in the preceding verse and it is difficult to say if it is right or wrong, because it is impossible to know if the group *ameretâitî itayûtâ* still presented to the author of that stanza the meaning which it had when it was born. Here is a stanza where Ameretât has quite certainly the recent meaning and denotes heavenly immortality.

5° *Yêzî adâis ashâ drug'em vénhaitê*
hyat âçashutâ yâdaibitânâ fraokhtâ
ameretâitî *daêvâisca mashyâisca*
at tôi çavâis vahmem vakhshat ahurâ (47,1).

"On the day when Asha will kill the Drug', on the day of immortality, when to the Daevas and to men will be dealt the retribution which was falsely denied,[2] then will rise to thee with sanctity a powerful hymn, O Ahura."[3]

§ 30. We pass on to the texts of the second class, those which imply the transformation of the deities of Health and of Immortality into the deities of waters and of plants.

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1 Second body (the *pâçcâtyam vapus* of Neriosangh).

2 In connection with these verses the following lines from the Koran may be quoted (compare last note to § 8):—

(The infidels will rise from their tombs) and look up on all sides: Woe be to us! will they say; this is the day of retribution.

This is the day of decision, it will be said to them, this the day which you treated as an idle fancy (37,19 sq. Kasimirski's translation).

3 *Açashuta*=allotted to (Justi s. v.) Tradition understanding *aça* no more did not translate it (*amat zak deamatannît*). *Aça-shu* is a compound after the manner of the Sanskrit *çuklî-bhû*, but the theme is still unaltered (compare *duskhâ-kar*). The literal meaning of the verse is: when will be distributed the things of which it has been spoken with falsehood (mannash pann friftâris frâc guft, aigh; lâ yeamatûnît, "of which one spoke falsely, saying: they will not come to pass"). *Daibitana* shows us the theme of the ancient and modern Persian infinitive employed in Zend in its primitive sense of a substantive.—The translation of the last verse is doubtful; it is however immaterial for our object.

Here is a stanza where the transition is marked :

1° *Dâidî môi yé g'âm tashô apaçcâ urvarâoçcâ*
ameretâtâ haurvatâtâ *çpenistâ mainyû mazdâo*
téwîshî itayûitî *mananha vohû çenhê* (50,7)[1]

"Give me, thou who hast created the cow, *both waters and plants*, give me, O very-holy spirit, O Mazda, *immortality and health, strength and duration*, for having followed the lessons of Good Thought."

In this stanza *Haurvatât Ameretât* have still their primitive meaning but their juxtaposition to *apô urvarâo* shows that they are just on the point of assuming a new one. In the following one the step is overleaped, but the alliances that had sprung up in a previous period still subsist :

2° *At tôi ubê* haurvâoçca *qarethâi â* ameretâtâoçca
vanhéus khshathrâ mananhô ashâ mat ârmaitis vakhst
itayûitî téwîshî *tâis â mazdâ*. (34,11).

"It is from thee that proceed the foods of Haurvatât and Ameretât; may Piety along with Purity grow (in us) under the reign of Good Thought; (give us) in return strength and duration, O Mazda."[2]

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1 *Mananhâ vohû çenhê*, "in a lesson through vohumanô, being instruction by vohumano," that is to say give me these good things, if I have followed the lessons of Good Thought. The trio *gâm apaçca urvarâoçca* brings to our mind the passage of Strabo which shows the union in a single creed of *Anaitis*, *Anadatos* (read *Amardatos*, compare Windischmann, die Persische anâhita, Abhandlungen der bairischen Akademie 1858, Windischmann, the Persian anâhita, Transactions of the Bavarian Academy 1858) and *Homanos i. e.* Anâhita, Ameretât and Vohumanô, the deities of waters, of plants, and of cattle, apô, urvaraô, gâm.

2 A verbatim translation of the first verse is : in thee (*tvattô, minlak*) Haurvatât and Ameretât each for food (is). The Pehlvi *khordat khortân* offers us an example of this combination which must have contributed to bring on the change of the primitive *h* into *kh* (compare the last note to § 7). In the third verse Neriosangh keeps *tvam dehi* understood ; so does the Pehlvi version. The presence of *â* appears rather to show the necessity of keeping an idea of movement understood : itaûti tavishi tâis a (*gacchatâm*).

Haurvatât and Ameretât are indeed here, as Neriosangh maintains, *udakapatis* et *vanaspatipatis*, lord of plants and lord of waters. But they bring on again in their train the couple *tévîshî utayûitî*, to which they were attached in a previous period; the outward juxtaposition continues, though the inmost link be broken. The ancient relations survive the reason of their existence, it is the *vis inertiae* that is at work.

In the following stanza the two terms are at two different stages (of their development);

3° *Frô môi fravôizdûm arethâ tâ yâ vohû shavâi mananhâ yaçnem mazdâ khshmâvatô at vâ ashâ çtaomyâ vacâo dâtâ vé* ameretâtaçca itayûitî haurvatâo draonô (33,8);

"Make, make me know these two objects, that I may walk in the ways of Good Thought, (namely) the sacrifice, O Mazda, which a god such as you deserves; on the other hand the pure words of the hymn; give me *the duration which Ameretât disposes of and the good things of Haurvatât.*"[1]

Ameretât is not here the deity of plants, since it is accompanied by *itayûiti*, which makes him the deity of Immortality and places him in his first stage. But Haurvatât is here the divinity of Abundance, since he disposes of the material good things, of *draonô*, a fact which places him in his second stage. So the couple Haurvatât-Ameretât is only connected here by an external and artificial link and the two figures are not on the same level. The use of the formula has brought about a mythical countersense; it has put together the two names with regard to the qualities of a different class which they bear. The two factors have not varied but the exponents are no more the same.

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1 The word which I translate by good things is *draonô*. In the liturgy this word denotes a piece of round bread. I can hardly believe that the *darûn* is here spoken of. Neriosangh translates: *avirdâdasya utsavam*, the rejoicing of Haurvatât. Draonô is phonetically identical with the Vedic *dravinas*, good things, riches; *dâtâ draonô* brings to our mind *dravinodâ*, who gives riches, an epithet of gods.

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The following stanza perhaps offers the same disagreement, but less perceptible, because the two deities are not symmetrically placed.

4° *Yâ skyaothnâ yâ vacanhâ yâ yaçnâ* ameretâtem *ashemcâ taêibyô dâonhâ mazdâ* khshatremca haurvatâtô *aêshãm tôi ahurâ éhmâ pourutemâis* daçtê (34,1).

"The acts, the words, the sacrifices by which I could acquire, O Mazda, immortality, purity, and power over Haurvatât, of all this, O Ahura, we give thee the most we can."[1]

Indeed in this stanza there are no conclusive details, which enjoin our seeing in Haurvatât a deity of Abundance rather than a deity of Health. But as there is no more reason for giving him here his primitive significance, I must stick, I believe, to the traditional sense.

§ 31. Derivative abstract meaning. The poet, after having announced to the wicked a long dwelling in hell, *disagreeable food* (dusqarethem), and words of insult, (§ 8) adds:

1° *Mazdâo dadhât ahurô* haurvatô ameretâtaçca *bûrôis ashaqyâca qaêpaithyât khshathrahyâ çarô vanhéus vazdvare mananhô yé hôi mainyû skyaothanâiscaurvathô* (31,21).

"Ahura Mazda has given power over the rich Haurvatât, over the rich Ameretât,
he has given pure royalty and independence,
and the riches of Vôhu-manô, to whoever is his friend in thought and action."[2]

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1 *Yâ—taêibyô=yaêibyô*. It is already, *before the entire Semitic invasion*, the construction of the modern Persian relative.—I regard *dâonhâ* as a future of dhâ, with the *y* dropped after *h* (compare Justi's Manual, p. 365 § 103,10). But can it be given the sense of "means"?

2 *Carô* governs all the genitives of the first two verses. *Dadhât ameretâtô çarô* signifies: he has placed ameretât in the power of....., it is the active of *khshathrôi hôi* (v. § 29,3). Compare the following quotation. *Qaêpaithyât khsathrahyâ* forms a single expression: the power which depends only on itself (compare vaçô-khshathra). It is then a synonym for *fcêratu*.

Here are too consecutive stanzas where both appear again : in the second they are certainly divinities of Abundance, in the first their character is uncertain.

2° *Tat thwâ pereçâ eres môi vaocâ ahurâ,*
kathâ mazdâ zarem carâni haca khsmat
âçkitîm khshmâkām hyatcâ môi qyât vâkhshaêshô
carôi bûjdyâi haurvâtâ ameretâtâ
avâ māthrâ yé râthemô ashât hacâ.

3° *Tat thwâ pereçâ eres môi vaoçâ ahurâ*
kathâ ashâ tat mîjdem hanâni
daça açpâo arshnavaitîs ustremca
hyat môi mazdâ apavaitî haurvâtâ
ameretâtâ *yathâ hî taibyô dâonghâ* (43,17,18).

"I ask of thee one thing, answer me truly, O Ahura!

When, O Mazda, shall I happen to seize from you
the expected fulfilment, to possess that object desired by my prayers, that Haurvatât and Ameretât be in my power,
recompense of the purity, obtained in following the holy Word [1]

I ask of you one thing, answer me truly, O Ahura!

When by purity shall I obtain this recompense,
ten mares with their males and a camel;
that I may see Haurvatât and Ameretât in my power,
so that I may be able to make thee an offering of their goods ?[2]

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1 The literal rendering of *Zarem carâni* appears to me to be *I shall reach* (i. e. *I shall obtain*) *seizure* (*zar*=Sanscrit *har*, to seize), when shall I happen to seize.—*Açkitîm khshmâkām : kartârisi lacum*, your action, adds the gloss; when will your action and your law be perfect.—*Vâkhshaêshô*, desire of speech—*Râthemô*=*mizd, dânam* (Neriosangh) ; the root is *ra*, to give (St. Petersburg Dictionary s. v.) ; *râthemô* is equivalent in meaning and root to the Vedic *ratna* ; compare *dadhâti ratnam vidhate*, he gives good things to him who honours him (Rig Veda, 4, 2, 3.)

2 *Môi apavaitî* is translated in Pehlvi by *dar khavitûnam*, that I may see ; in the same way by Neriosangh ; *me yat evam vedmi*.—One may conclude, if he likes, from the third verse that the ten pair of horses and a camel formed the unit of wealth.

§ 32. If we now recapitulate the previous formulas, we observe that our two deities are to be found there in all the degrees of their development. They are there joined either in a natural or in an artificial couple ; in a primitive natural couple, as deities of Health and of Inmortality (§ 29,1,2,3 ; § 30,1), in a secondary natural couple, first as deities of waters and of plants (§ 30, 2), then as deities of Abundance (§ 31,1,2,3) ; in an artificial couple, one being still the deity of immortality, the other already the deity of abundance (§ 30,3).

Thus in the part of the Avesta considered, rightly or wrongly, as the most ancient, the material transformation of the two deities was already gone through. But notwithstanding this, obvious and numberless traces of the ancient meaning remain ; in such a formula beneath the new meaning which the neo-mazdiasnians there see, comes up again the ancient meaning. Here is a new example. An invocation to Atar (fire, the Iranian Agni) has the following :—
mazè avaqyâi mazé rafenôqyâi dâidî haurvâtâo ameretâtâo[1] (57,20).

"For great help, for great joy, give us Haurvatât and Ameretât"[2]

This appeal to a deity, *for help and joy*, (avanhê rafnanhê), is again found in other places, applied to different divinities and

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1 Stanza 46,1, remains to exhaust the series of quotations from the Gathas. But there is nothing in the context to determine the significance of the two words :
Speñta mainyû vahistâcâ mananhâ
hacâ ashât skyaothanâcâ vacanhâcâ
hâmâi dâ haurvâtâ ameretâtâ
mazdâo khshathrâ ârmaitî ahurô.

"In recompense of the holiness of soul, of the excellence of thought, action and speech, directed by purity, Ahurmazda, Khshathra, and Armaiti will give us Haurvatât and Ameretât (i. e. either health and immortality or the good things of abundance ; *udakam vanaspatim*, says Neriosangh.)

2 *Avaqyâi*, theme *avas-ya* ; it is the theme of the Vedic denominative *avasya* (avasyate).

become a *mere matter of style*.[1] No more precise meaning is attached to this formula and often even nothing more is observed than that it is sufficient by itself and the two terms become members of a more extensive enumeration.[2] But this formula receives its full meaning from its close position with the divinities, who commenced their existence by being health and immortality. The deity of health had a particular claim to be invoked *"for help,"* since it is his special function to drive away disease and give the remedy; *rafnanh*, joy, happiness, is applied not less properly to the idea of long life, heavenly or earthly:

thwahmî rafnahî *daregâyû*.....*buyêmâ*; (41,10).

"Send us happiness, may we have long life!"[3]

Rapôisca *tû né daregemcâ ustâcâ* (41,11).

"Mayst thou give us the happiness of long life!"[4]

The idea of *rafnanh* or happiness was then attached to the idea of long life and consequently it was as natural to ask it of Ameretât, the deity of immortality, as to ask *help* (avanh) of Haurvatât, the deity of health. Notwithstanding then that the modern Parsis do in this very formula construe Ameretât and Haurvatât to be water and plants and although such might have been the thought of those who gave this formula its definite form, we have the right to say that the close position which constitutes their basis goes back to a period when the primitive meaning of the two deities was still perceived.

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1 See Yast, I, 9.

2 For example Yast X, 5, *avanhê ravanhê rafnanhê marjdikâi baêshazyâi* &c., for help, for well-being, for happiness, for mercy, for remedy &c.,— Yt XIII, 1.

3 *Thwahmî rafnahî* is an absolute locative, being thy felicity (which comes from thee); *tavânandakrtâu*, "being of thy action to make happiness."

4 Word forword: mayst thou gladden us for a long time and in health. Neriosangh who is grammatically inaccurate, is accurate as far as meaning goes: *pramodatvam*.....*dîrghaprâptyâ g'ivasya*, happiness by a long acquisition of life.

VII.

§ 33. But it is not only in the so called ancient parts of the Avesta that the primitive character of Haurvatât and Ameretât appears. It shows itself even in parts certainly recent, in that where the work of review and of co-ordination which has given Mazdiasnism its definite and last form is best found, I mean, in the Sîrozah, that is to say in those calendars, where all the deities of Mazdiasnism are arranged hierarchically, each with his formula. Let us indeed take up again the two formulas, studied already before (§§ 19,20).

1. We have seen that in the formula of Ameretât are invoked the fat cattle, the rich pastures and the Gaokerena, powerful, created by Mazda. We have seen that the first two terms refer to Ameretât, considered as the deity of plants; the Gaokerena, we have added, is consecrated to him, because Gaokerena is the king of plants. But this significance of Gaokerena is only a derivative significance. It is the king of plants, because it is the plant which gives immortality, because it has been created for beating back old age (zarmân),[1] because he who eats of it does not die.[2]

From that time its connection with Ameretât is no more traced back to the second period of the deity, but to the primitive period. It is not with Ameretât, deity of the plants, that it is connected, but with Ameretât, deity of immortality, and the placing side by side in the same formula of rich pastures and of Gaokerena would suffice for itself to reveal to us the two ages of the deity's life.

2. Let us pass to Haurvatât. He was invoked with *yâiryâo hushitôis*, the well-being of the year, that is to say the good things which the year brings forth. He then properly appears as the deity of abundance and in his last form. But he appears so, as we have already remarked before (§ 19), only owing to

1 Bundehesh 19,19. Zarmân is the abstract noun from Zârîc (§ 26).

2 Bundehesh 42,14 ; 59,5.

the word *yâiryâo* which qualifies *hushitôis*. *Hushiti* by itself signifies well-being, it is the synonym of *hug'yâiti*, good life (cf. § 19). But on the other hand *hug'yâiti* is equivalent to Haurvatât and takes his place in his combinations with Ameretât; it is said for example that the demon in deceiving mankind and in breathing injury on them "defrauds them of *hug'yâiti* and of *ameretât*,[1] "that is to say of good life and of immortality, a passage which is a manifest counterpart of the passages where Health and Immortality are promised to him who follows the good law, and a different reading of that where disease and death are announced to the faithful follower of the evil law (§ 29, 1 *bis*). Then *hug'yâiti* is an equivalent of *haurvatât* in the primitive sense of the word and tradition, which forgot this sense in *haurvatât*, recognises it perfectly in *hug'yâiti*, in this passage; in fact Neriosangh translates it by *sug'îvani, yat çakyate g'îvatum*, "good life, that is to say strength of living." The Pehlvi expresses the idea in an inverted form, *apagayêhê la yehavûnît*, "there is nothing which carries away life"; in other words with Neriosangh *hug'yâit* is the health which makes (one) live, with the Pehlvi writer the health which chases away disease. Of the two parts *hug'yâiti* is what was in the beginning *haurvatât*. Consequently *hushiti*, the actual equivalent of *hug'yâiti*, is one of the equivalents of the ancient *haurvatât*: or at least it expresses a closely similar idea, the idea of security and well-being, and it may be supposed that in a previous period *hushiti*, security or well-being, was used to be invoked with *haurvatât*, health.[2] But *hushiti*, with the breadth of its etymological meaning,

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1. *Debnaotâ mashîm hug'yâtoîs ameretâtaṇca... .....akaṇcâ mainyus (32, 5): debnaotâ* is a noun of action construed as a verb. The Sanskrit form would be dabh-no-tar; as to the addition of the suffix-*tar* to the strengthened verbal exponent compare the Vedic *man-o-tar*.

2 In Rig Veda I, 111,2, one asks of the rbhus "yathâ *xayâma sarva-vîrayâ viçâ*; that is asking *hushiti* and *haurvatât* (§§ 14,4; 19).—In the Avesta again one asks of the deities *dareghôshitîm*; it is as if one asked of them *dareghôg'îtîm* (Yaçna 67,42).

could easily widen or narrow this meaning by following the middle course, and when *haurvatât* changed, so that it became the deity of waters and consequently the deity of material productions, *hushiti*, in order to follow it in its new fortune, had only to get a suitable epithet attached to it. [1]

VIII.

§ 34 The result of this chapter is that Haurvatât and Ameretât have been in a previous period different from what they are to-day. This former meaning is inscribed in their names, Health and Immortality, and the texts show by numerous traces that they have really had in an historical period the meaning to which their names testify. Here occurs the third question placed at the beginning of the first part of our work (§ 4), how did the transition from the primitive meaning to the actual meaning take place, how did the deities of Health and Immortality become the deities of waters and of plants?

Chapter Third.

Connection of the abstract meaning with the material attribute.

I.

§ 35. For the deities who gave Health and Immortality to become the deities of Waters and of Plants, one must have believed that the waters and the plants gave Health and Immortality.

Do the texts support this necessary inference? Have waters and plants this property?—Yes, replies the Avesta.

§ 36. Waters. "Come, O clouds, come with your waters which go forward, which fall, which rest on the soil, bearing

1 In the same way *hug'yâitis* would have only to pass from the singular into plural in order to pass from the significance of "well being" into that of "objects which procure well-being." This is the meaning of the word *hug'itayô* (Y 33,10), a word formed quite in the same way.

the rains by thousands, and by tens of thousand..... ..... *for annihilating sickness, for annihilating death,* for annihilating the sickness brought on by the *gaini,*[1] for annihilating the death brought on by the *gaini.* If death smite at evening, let the remedy come at morning. If death strike at morning, may the remedy come at night. If death strike at night, may the remedy come at day-break. May the new waters come to us with the rains, new earth, new trees, new remedies, new healing powers."[2]

Then come the following invocations :—

"He who will offer to you the sacrifice, O good waters, daughters of Ahura, with the very good libations, with the excellent libations, with the libations poured out with piety ; to him give fortune and splendour, to him *health of body* (tanvô drvatâtem), to him strength of body, to him triumphant vigour of the body, to him riches all bright, to him a blessed posterity from the sky, to him a *long, long life* (dareghãm dareghô g'îtîm), to him a place in the excellent world of the pure, bright, all luminous".[3]

This is the counter-part, spun out from the preceding formula : there are found the two essential traits which we have so often met with in this study, health and long life, health and immortality. It is because the waters grant health, that the grand deity of the waters, Ardviçura, is *healing*

1 Name of a class of demons.

2 Vendidad 21,3. Yayata dunma yayata frâpem nyâpem upâpem hazanrô-vârayô (Westergaard) baêvare-vâraçcit.....yaçkahê apanaçtahê mahrkahê apanaçtahê. g'aini-yaçkahê apanaçtahê g'aini-mahrkahê apanaçtahê.....yêzi uzirôhva mereñcaitê arezahva baêshazyât yêzi arezahva mereñcaitê khshapôhva baêshazyât. Yezi khshapôhva mereñcaitê ushahva baêshazyât. Vî vâreñtu (see the different readings in Westergaard ; M. Westergaard reads for the present *vî vâreñti*) vîvârâhu nava âfs nava zâo nava urvarâo nava baêshazâo navata (read navaca ?) baêshaza-kesha. (The Pehlvi translates this last word by "action of healing" : *kesha=kartaris* ; Aspendiarji cited by M. Spiegel (Commentary I,468) translates "health").

3 Yaçna 67,30.

(baêshazî);[1] it is because the waters bestow not-dying, that the white Haoma, the Haoma of immortality, the Gaokerena, sprouts forth in the waters of Ardviçura.[2]

§ 37. Plants:—"Who was the first of men healers? asks Zarathustra. Who is the first who sent disease to disease, death to death?[3]—It was Thrita, replies Ahura Mazda; he asked for a remedy *for resisting sickness, for resisting death*, for resisting suffering, for resisting cold fever,.....hot fever.....which Anrô-mainyu has created for the body of mortals. Then I Ahura Mazda, I brought forward the wholesome plants which, by hundreds, by thousands, by tens of thousand[4] grow round about the one Gaokerena. All

1 Yaçna 64,2.

2 Bundehesh 64,1.

3 Compare page 36, note 2.

4 According to the Bundehesh (ch IX.) the wholesome plants are ten thousand in number. There is then some ground perhaps for our explaining a well known particular in the military organization of the Persians. There was in their army a choice body composed of 10,000 men, called the Immortals (*athanatoi*), because, says Herodotus, every soldier that was carried off from this body by disease or death was immediately replaced, so that the effective force remained always the same (Herodotus 7,83) In truth the legion of the Immortals was the legion consecrated to the Ameshaspand of Immortality, Ameretât, and it was made up of 10,000 men, because the army of wholesome plants, the army of Ameretât, was composed of 10,000 warriors. It would be hazardous to maintain that each Amshaspand had his legion. Besides one understands the particular choice of Ameretât as the patron of a military body; he is a deity whom the soldier more than any other had occasion to invoke. The creation of this body is traceable to a period when the two interpretations of the deity were still understood: the name of the body takes us back to the abstract meaning, the effective to the material attribute. The abstract significance was the dominant idea but it did not entirely efface the material significance. Xerxes, coming across a fine plane-tree on his way to Sardis, honored it by placing over it a gold ornament and committed it to the charge of an *Immortal* (Herodotus 7,31). In other words he honoured the Ameshaspand Ameretât in one of his productions, the custody of which he committed to one of the pupils of that deity.—It may be supposed that the Persian name of the legion was "*amartiyânâm çpâdâ*."

this we bless, all this we invoke, all this we adore, for the good of the body of mortals, *for beating back disease, for beating back death,* for beating back suffering,.....cold fever.....hot fever.....which Anrô-mainyu has created for the body of mortals. O sickness, to thee I say avaunt, O death, to thee I say avaunt"[1]

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1. Vendidad 20, 1. The words: *viçcithrem dim ayaçata dyapta khshathra vairya* are obscure. It is not clear what this *viçcithrem* is which the Pehlvi translator is content with transcribing, nor in what sense *khsathra vairya* must be understood. M. Spiegel translates: *Ein mittel wünschte er sich als gunst von Khshathra vairya (a remedy he desired for himself as favour from Khshathra vairya).* He adds in a note: "Since Thrita prays to *Khshathra vairya* for his remedy, it must be concluded that this remedy is obtained from the mineral kingdom, of which *Khshathra vairya* is the Amshaspand. Besides *viçcithra* properly signifies that which has its origin in liquid (*was von Flüssigkeit herkommt.*)" It may, I believe, be concluded from this contradiction that *Khshathra vairya* is not understood as a proper noun or that *viçcithrem* has not the meaning which the German scholar gives it. Let us observe that the word *dyaptem* denotes the favour obtained as recompense of a virtuous act. One is reminded of this, for example, by the yast of Haoma half of which turns on this subject: who first pressed the Soma? what favour (*dyaptem*) was returned to him for that? *Ayaptem* then implies an indirect object, expressed or understood, a fact which is moreover in conformity with the etymological meaning of the word: a thing obtained (by whom? in return of what?). We then come to ask if the ablative *khshathra vairya* might not be this object: "Thrita demanded a..... *in recompense of his holy royalty,*" in other words, of the justice of his government; or indeed in the same sense, but by preserving to the word its significance as a proper noun and by remembering that before being the king of metals *Khshatra vairya* was *theos eunomias,* (deity of good law), "he asked a.....favour to be obtained by *Khshatra vairya,* the deity who protects good kings." This brings to our mind the remedies which the Manu of the Vedas obtained by piety and by sacrifice (yâni (bheshag'â) Manur âvrnîtâ pitâ nas 2,33,13;—yat çamca yoçca Manur â yeg'e pitâ 1,114,2).

There remains *viçcithrem* which must be an equivalent of *baêshazem.* The comparison of these two terms suggests a hypothesis which would give to the word a meaning perfectly agreeing with the context. Here it is; *Baêshaza* and the more simple Sanskrit form *bhisag'* involve a root *bhis,* Zend *bis*; for the suffix *ag',* compare *dhrsh-ag,'* hardy, bold, from *dhrsh.*

It is because the plants are the springs of health and of life that Haoma is their chief, their ratu (§ 20).[1]

Haoma, the plant-deity, who dispels death, who on the day of the resurrection produces immortality, has not lost, in being deified, his kinship with his inferior sisters. In the nature of things he could not lose it, since the Haoma of sacrifice is a plant which is pressed and is eaten,[2] "plant with a beautiful body, with yellow colours, with bending stalks, excellent to eat."[3] If it is wholesome (*baêshazyô*), if it beats back death (*dûraoshô*) to a distance, if it bestows health and long life (*drvatâtem tanvô, dareghô g'îtîm ustânâhe*), it is because it

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This root is found in the name of the tree viçpô-*bis* (that which has all the remedies), of the tree hu-*bis* (of good remedies), of the tree eredhwô-*bis* (which has high remedies) (See Windischmann, Zoroastrische Studien *i. e.* Zoroastrian Studies 166). *Viçcithrem* would stand for *biscithrem*, a source of remedies. If this then be really what Thrita prays for, Ahura Mazda by bringing to him *the trees of remedies, urvarâo baêshazyâo*, proves that he has well understood the prayer. There is a negative objection to this hypothesis. It substantially involves the change of *b* into *v*. There are examples of this change in the body of a word (as *frabavara* for *fra-babara*) and also at the commencement of a word, when it is the second term of a compound (*gadhavara* for *gadhabara*); but there is no certain example of it, at least within my knowledge, at the commencement of a word. *Vaê-kereta* in connection with *bâe-erezu* (Justi's Manual 364, § 100) might indeed be quoted; but it is not certain whether *vaê* is derived from *baê* and it is more probable that both are derived from *dvaê*. The change of initial *b* into *v* rests then without example. It remains to be decided whether this is due to a phonetic impossibility or simply to our poverty of texts.

1 Bundehesh 58,10 : 64,5 : hom dûros apas pann fraskart anosakis vîrâyînand u urvarân rat.

2 Yaçna 9,8 : *frâ mâm hunvanuha qaretéê*, press-me for me to be eaten, says Haoma to Zoroaster.

3 Yaçna 52 ; *hukerefs zairigaonô nâmyâçus, yatha qareñtê vahistô*. This last characteristic, like the previous ones, should be understood in its literal sense (compare the epithets of the Vedic Soma, *svâdus rasavân tîvras madishthas*, sweet, savoury, sharp, intoxicating). A perfectly moral trait follows : *urunaêca pâthmainyôtemô*, which opens to the soul a large way (to Paradise, to Behesht ; compare *Khod Patet*, Anquetil II. 40).

concentrates in itself all the properties of plants, it is the plant *par excellence*. Mazdiasnism perceives this yet, it does not forget the origin of Haoma, and does not sacrifice to it its humbler aisters. They grow round it in the heavens; like it they heal, like it they drive death away. The mythical tree *Viçpôtaokhma* that is to say "the tree which bears all seeds," is also styled *g'atbés*[1] "that which beats back suffering," or again indeed, *hubis eredhwôbis vîçpôbis*, "the tree of good remedies, the tree of high remedies, the tree of all remedies."[2]

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1 See the quotation from Minokhired in M. Spiegel's Parsi Grammar, p. 143; *g'at-bés* signifies having-pain-separately, *vyathâhîno vrxa* says Neriosangh (having-pain-left); *dvesho-yut, âre-agha* said the Vedas.

2 The passage from the Vendidad cited at the commencement of the paragraph warrants our making out the history of the tree *vîçpôtaokhma*. It is so named from the fact of its bearing the germs of all plants and it grows in the sea vouru-kasha. It is also called *hubis eredhwôbis vîçpôbis* (Yast Rashn 17: avãm vanãm çaênahê yâ histaiti *maidhîm zrayanhô vouru-kashahê*, yã *hubis eredhwôbis* yã vaocê *vîçpôbis* nãma yãm upairi urvaranãm vîçpanãm taokhma nidhayat. *Eredhwôbis* is the tree which bears the remedies on its high branches; *vîçpôbis*=which has remedies for all diseases; it is the Sanskrit *viçva-bheshag'a*). But in another place (Vendidad 5,57) mention is made of a tree which grows in the sea vouru-kasha and on which grow all plants of all kinds by hundreds, by thousands, by tens of thousands. This tree reminds us on the one hand of the tree *vîçpôtaokhma* which grows in the sea Vourukasha, on the other hand of the ten thousand plants which surround the Gaokerena. This gives us the intermediate conception. In the first place there was only one mythical tree, the celestial Haoma or Gaokerena, round which grew the ten thousand salutary plants, created for beating back the ten thousand diseases sent by Ahriman (Bundehesh 19,11). Then to distinguish better the celestial Haoma from all other plants, a second tree was added to it as its companion to which were transported the ten thousand salutary plants which formerly formed its suite. It is with this second period that the text of Vendidâd 5,57, quoted above, is connected. The text does not give its name, *hvâpãm* being only an epithet. The name was undoubtedly *hubis eredwôbis vîçpôbis*. In fine its functions were extended, it bore the germs of all trees; the tree of all remedies became the tree of all seeds, the *vîçpôbis* became *vîçpôtaokhma* (Compare Windischmann's Zoroastrian Studies, 165 seqq).

II.

§ 38. It is then expressly recognised by the Avesta (*andar dîn pêdâst*, the Parsis would say) that the waters and the plants chase away disease and death. This formula should not be considered as a sort of scientific authentication, as the expression pure and simple of an act of experience; this formula contains more than a mere apothecary's aphorism. It does not express *qualities* but *powers*; *the water which runs* and *the tree which sprouts forth* are not, as among the moderns, something dead and passive, they are beings, *persons*, active, conscious, and living. When Mithra pushes his chariot on against the infidels, by his sides run the waters and the plants;[1] at the birth of Zoroaster the waters and the plants leapt out of joy while exclaiming, "Victory! he is born, the Atharva, the very holy Zarathustra, who will offer us the libations, who will spread the Barsom, and the good law of the Mazdiasnians is going to spread through the seven Karshvars".[2] The disciple of Zarathustra, while repelling the sway of the demon, promises to follow "the faith of the waters and of the plants."[3] In the grand contest which the creatures of good maintain against the creatures of evil they struggle at the post which God has given them, they struggle against disease and death, Târic and Zâric. They are then the helpers of the birth of the deities, Health and Immortality, and the history of Haurvatât and Ameretât is entirely comprised in the following enthymeme:—

Waters and plants give health and immortality, therefore Health and Immortality are the lords of the waters and of the plants.

1 And the Fravashis of the pure, Yast 10,100—The waters, the trees and the Farohars form a trio which is found elsewhere, Yast 13,147, Vp 24,1,2; Fragments 1,2. These are the Farohars who cause the waters to flow and the trees to grow (see supra, page 14, note 8).

2 The world is divided into seven Karshvars Yast 13,93,94. Compare also Rig Veda, 10,88,2.

3 Yaçna 13,22,23.

This history may be divided into three periods.

I. In the first period, Haurvatât and Ameretât have still only the meaning which their name reveals, or at least that meaning is still understood and predominant: they are invoked as deities of health and of immortality. It is undoubtedly known that they act through the waters and the plants, but the instrument of their action has not yet concealed their action itself; their name awakes the idea of that action and not of that instrument. It is with this first period that on the one hand the Gathic formulas are connected, such as, "Ahura gives to those that follow the good path health and immortality" or "may Health and Immortality give us strength and duration (tévîshî itayûitî); and on the other, the Parsi formula, Khordâd and Amurdâd fight Târîc and Zârîc, that is to say Health and Immortality fight Disease and Death.

II. In the following period the material and accessory trait has effaced the primitive one. What facilitated this natural transformation is the almost complete loss of the word *haurva* in the sense of *saving, saved;* it is no more known that *haurvatât* signifies *health,* but it is known that Haurvatât and Ameretât act through the waters and through the plants and they consequently become the deities thereof. Ameretât preserves longer the recollection of his ancient meaning, because his name is still transparent; hence those gathic formulas where he is still in the first stage, while by his side Haurvatât is already in the second (§ 30, 3°). But the primitive meaning becomes more and more accessory, the material meaning becomes more and more exclusive. If any abstract nouns are still recognised in their names, the abstract sense which is discovered therein is suggested by their material sense and they become deities of abundance, because in Haurvatât is observed *that which produces all.*

III. This second period, the period of combination, of elaboration, and of transformation, which still permits our having a momentary glimpse of the primitive sense of the two deities

and still attempts to maintain for them an abstract meaning, is finally succeeded by a third period, when the entire primitive and abstract meaning is forgotten and the material attribute prevails solely and exclusively. Haurvatât and Ameretât are no more than the deities of waters and of plants[1] and they

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1 Read the Zarthust Nâmeh (a work of the latter half of the 13th century): Zoroaster has just made his acquaintance with the first four Ameshaspands and received their advice. It is Khordâd who in his turn says to him. "I commit to thy care the running waters, waters of the canals, waters of the brooks, waters which appear from on high or which from below the earth &c.....Tell the inhabitants of the world that it is by water that every animated being subsists, that it is water which gives its freshness to the earth and to its fruits. Keep distant from it every dead body... ....., do not pollute it with blood or with *nesa* (compare § 6). When by your deed your foods are polluted misery increases for you in the two worlds. (The English translation given by Mr. John Wilson in his book entitled, "The Parsi religion.....unfolded" is: "If your *reason* is willingly polluted by yourself." This *your reason* does not yield very reasonable sense; the translator had no doubt read "*khired*" (khratu) instead of khord: cu âlûdeh bâshed zitû *khord* (i) tû).

That nothing brings to one's mind the distant past of Khordâd is nothing astonishing. But Ameretât himself, mutilated into Murdâd, has lost all recollection of his youth.

When Khordâd ceased speaking, Murdâd immediately advanced: "To the holy and pure Zoroaster he spoke of the vegetables; one must not destroy them without reason nor crush them without motive, because they are the well-being of mankind and of animals. God takes personal care of them."

Thereupon Murdâd engages in a sermon, which might quite as well be placed in the mouth of Bahman, of Sapendomed, of Sarosh or of any other; that the Mobeds go their round of the world preaching the law, because when religion thrives, injustice disappears, Listen to the law, praise the creator and take great care to wear the kosti (girdle of piety), because the kosti is the sign of the religion. Then Murdâd returning a little to his own subject recommends the pure preservation of the four elements, for it was from them that God made the bodies of living being &c.—It is clear that these two names, Khordâd and Murdâd, are no more than proper names here and no more raise in the reader's mind the primitive ideas which they formerly expressed.

fight with hunger and thirst. The ancient formulas adapt themselves to a new meaning; the daêvas of Disease and of Death, following their celestial adversaries in their transformation, seize the empire of hunger and thirst and get themselves mixed with waters and plants in order to corrupt them. The distance traversed can be measured by the fact, that Haurvatât and Ameretât, primitively common nouns, become so again; but instead of being common abstract nouns, they have become common concrete nouns. The word *health* happens to acquire in the ritual the meaning of *water*, the noun *immortality* the meaning of *plant* (§ 7).

§ 39. Is this third period the last and are our two deities going ultimately to rest themselves?—That which lives in the thought of man is no more immutable than that which lives on their lips and there is no more end of the mythical movement of a deity than there is of the phonetic movement of a word. These two names Khordâd and Murdâd, a novel form of Haurvatât and Ameretât, are no more protected from phonetic deterioration than the beings which they denote are from mythical deterioration. The future that attends them cannot be predicted with certainty, now that Parsiism, tainted by its contact with Christian civilization, is being reduced from day to day to being no more than a colourless counterfeit of the spiritualism of the western Arians. But several indications permit our supposing that they would in Parsiism be given up to their own free development. *The popular etymology* already opened to them a whole new cycle of adventures.

1°. *Khordâd.* "The Parsis, says Anquetil,[1] employ the word *Adar*, when they wish to speak of the several fires which appear to men in particular forms and of the deities themselves which preside over those fires".[1] One of these fires bears the name of Khordâd. *Adar Khordâd* appears in the Zerdusht

1 Zend Avesta, II. p. 24, note 1.

Nâmeh[1] and in the Parsi prayers in company with Adar Gushasp and the fire Burzinmihr. This novel function of Haurvatât is explained by the *Persian* etymology of Khordâd, *that which gives light*[2] (Khor-dâd). A fact which proves that it is really by the force of its etymology that Khordâd has become an Adar and that it is also styled Ader khurah. But *khurah* is the ordinary equivalent of the Zend *qarenô*, illumination, light; Khordâd was then properly that which gives the *khor*, the *khurah* (light).[3] There is then Haurvatât, this old deity of health, become the deity of waters, that takes his place now among the deities of light.[4] Would Khordâd have

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1 Zerdusht-Nâmeh, ch. 54 and Atash Nyâish, ad finem. In the romance of Vis and Râmin, Râmin compares the fire with which he is consumed with that of Khordâd and of Burzîn (Calcutta Edition p. 72). The definite date of composition of this romance is contemporaneous with that of the Zerthust Nâmeh; the original composition is much more ancient. The conversion of Khordâd into Ader is then previous to the 13th century.

2 Compare Hyde's Religio Persarum (2nd Edition, 243) and the Persian dictionaries of Johnson and Meninsky s. v.—We have already seen (last note to § 7) that the form *Khordâd* had to a great extent been brought about by the idea which then prevailed in Haurvatât, the idea of a deity which produces nourishments. There the idea dictated the form. Here phonetics takes its revenge, the form dictates the idea and destroys the very conception which had given it birth.

3 Patet Irâni 21; compare Anquetil II, 48, and Spiegel's Translation III, 227.

4 It is perhaps to the new meaning of its name that the day of Khordâd owes the particular importance which it has obtained among the Parsis. As it had become *the day of illumination*, the day on which Gushtasp embraced the law was made out of it. Faith and light are ideas which raise each other and it is specially so in Mazdiasnism "in which faith was kindled in the hearts (of men) from the Sun" (*kih rukhshân shudê dar dil az hûr dîn*:—Firdousi, *Maccan's Edition* 1991,3). For a similar reason Khordâd again became the day of the creation of the world and of resurrection (Anquetil II, 174). Then analogy continuing the work commenced by metaphor, a whole series of important events were connected with this day: the birth of Meshya and Meshyane, the appearance of

kept together his two titles for long and joined water and fire under his sway ? To this it may be answered that so long as he would have formed a pair with Amardâd, the deity of plants, the recollection of the couple waters-and-plants would have protected his ancient functions against the encroachment of novelties. On the day when etymology, or any other cause, would have attacked and transformed Amurdâd himself, the ancient union of the two deities would have come to an end and each would have followed apart his own destinies. But to judge of them by the interpretations which the writers of Persia hand down to us, Amurdâd appeared to be threatened with a fate still more strange than that of Khordâd.

2° *Amurdâd* :—The modern Iranian languages not recognising the privative *a* and voluntarily suppressing an initial *a*,[1] the form Murdâd has been produced by the side of Amurdâd. But as in Murdâd was always recognised and with reason the root of the Persian *murdan*, "to die," Ameretât, the ancient deity of Immortality, became the Angel of Death (*firishtahi marg*)[2] and the comparative mythology of the times recognised therein the Israel of the Arabs ;[3] "Amurdâd est

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Hoshang the Peshdadian, the division of the world by Feridun, the murder of Irag' by his brother's, the revenge of Irag' taken by Minocheher &c., &c. But here is a trait which is directly explained. It is on the day of Khordâd that Jamshid freed the world from old age and death (*g'ihân amarg azarmân kard*). This fact more naturally took place on the day Amurdâd ; but the latter called up Khordâd, which having become the official day of anniversaries, easily supplanted it.

1 Compare *abar, bar ; abê, bê ;* the function of the privative *a* is supplied by the particle *nâ*.

2 Compare Johnson s. v. *abû* (*abû yahyâ*)

3 Cazvini in Hyde l. c.—Let us cite, as a matter of curiosity, another comparison made by a modern scholar (Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, i. e. Journal of the German Oriental Society, IV, 368). The biblical Nimrod should be no other than Amurdâd, the prefix *a* being replaced by the equivalent modern Persian prefix *nâ*. It is to be regretted that the author does not tell us explicitly whether he

Azrael qui motiones sedat et animas a corporibus separat. *Eum enim animas corporibus solvere credunt Persarum magi.* Amurdâd is Azrael who puts down emotions and separates the souls from the bodies. *For the Persian magis believe that he frees the souls from the bodies.*" Has this conception arisen among the Parsis of India? I should not be able to say that: but these two lines of Cazvini prove at least that it had arisen among the Parsis of Persia.[1] The authenticity of the account proceeds from the very words of the writer; the assimilation of Amurdâd with Azrael is his own doing, but the attributes which suggested it to him are evidently not his own invention.

It is important to remark that in this last transformation there is more than one etymological error, *more than one disease of language.* The people recollect that Khordâd and Murdâd are charged, among other duties, with entertaining the souls of the righteous who pass into the other world (§8); the idea of death was then partially attached to their conception. Consequently the day when the name of one of them

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considers Hebrew as a neo-Iranian dialect or whether the legend of Nimrod is a loan from some unknown Firdousi. In these two cases there is the Genesis strangely grown young.—The same savant, not content with making the deity of Immortality and of plants a stout sportsman before the Lord, recognises again the couple in its entirely in the two angels of Babel, Harût and Marût, who, according to Arabian traditions, were hung at Babylon between sky and earth for having sown disunion between husband and wife (See Kazimirsky's Koran p. 16). I do not quite see the connection of sound betweeu Harût-Marût and Khordâd-Murdâd or Haurvatât-Ameretât. No more indeed is it obvious how the Amshaspands of waters and of plants became the two magicians who trouble the peace of families. Let us only observe that Harût and Marût being at Babel, it is not wise to look for them in Persia.

1 At least among those from whom Cazvini has drawn his information. "*Murdâd*" still signifies among the Persians the month of August and by way of proverbial speech they use the phrase *mordar* baafitab *mordad* i. e. a dead body in the month of August, to signify violent stench":—D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale s. v. Popular etymology could only see *the dead body* in *murdâd*, as it had only seen *fire* in *khordâd*

was found imperiously to awake this idea and to render it exclusive, there was in reality no creation of a new conception; etymological error only caused a conception already existing to be made free and dominant. If then the accession of Khordâd among the deities of fire depends upon phonetics alone, the transformation of Ameretât depends as much upon psychology.[1] To recapitulate then what has been said, it appears that the popular development of Parsiism ought to contribute to the disruption of the union of the two Ameshaspands.

III.

§ 40. One fact still remains to be considered: how did the division of the functions between Haurvatât and Ameretât occur? As waters and plants both equally give health and immortality, there was no intrinsic reason in the primitive meaning of the two deities why the one should reign over the waters, and the other over the plants: they ought to rule conjointly over the two united domains. This is indeed, I believe, what was kept standing for a long time, and this division of the two empires between the two deities does not ever appear to have been absolute. On the one hand, there is nothing in the Avesta to establish it in the precise terms in which Neriosangh formulates it (§ 6)[2]; on the other hand Parsiism itself has preserved some features which contradict it. In the Afrin of the seven Amshaspands Khordâd fights *all at once* with Târîc and Zârîc, that is to say, (according to the

1 Every deity of Immortality always runs the risk of becoming a deity of death. Immortality, after having endeavoured to get itself acclimatised on earth and finding the endeavour vain, takes its flight to the sky. But for this it requires the help of Death, which, having once got into the place, remains there as its sole master. Such is the history of Yama-Yima, at first king of Immortality (Avesta, Rig Veda), afterwards king of dead persons, (Brahmanical mythology).

2 In the Avesta Haurvatât and Ameretât subdue thirst and hunger § 9; it does not hence follow that Haurvatât only smites thirst.

authors of the prayer) hunger and thirst.[1] According to the

1 Again Khordâd fights with *âz*, which signifies "desire"; when personified the Parsis appear to make of it the demon of covetousness (Anquetil, Zend Avesta II, 78). Perhaps the word should be understood in the sense of "*want*" (compare *niyâz*, poverty); the ideas of *desire* and *want* are closely connected and there is easy transition from the one to the other. Khordâd, the deity of foods beats back Want. In Yaçna 17,46 the demon *âzi* and the péri *mûs* occur together. The Zend text does not supply us with any materials for the interpretation of this last name; but if we resort to Sanskrit, the peri *mûs* will become the "peri of theft," an etymology which appears to be confirmed by one thing. In the Bundehesh 13,3, a demon named *mûspar* appears, a name which M. Justi very judiciously compares with our *mûs pairika*; but two lines before, this very demon is styled *dug'd u 'mûs-par*. It is difficult to misconstrue in *dug'd* the Persian *duzd*, thief, added to *mûs* for the purposes of translation. If *âzi* is want and *mûs* theft, their juxtaposition is strictly understood; but it must be confessed that this is very abstract mythology, even for the Avesta. Another reason for hesitation would be that *âtar*, the deity of fire, is also presented as fighting against *âzi* (Vendidâd 18,45). *Azi* may be the demon of Want or that of covetousness, but it is scarcely perceptible why he enters into war against Atar. I should however say that *Azi* is very probably introduced into this text by mistake in place of *Aji*, the mythical serpent, who maintains against *âtar* a desperate war, related in the Yast 19,47 seqq.—The following paragraph of the Afrin opposes to Amurdâd "*Tûsus* (or Tosius), the first of Ahriman's counter-creations." Tradition knows nothing of this demon. But as Tûsus is one of Ahriman's counter-creations, the first thing to be done is to consult the text which enumerates them *i. e.* the first Fargard of the Vendidad. But there (§ 81) we meet with *zyâm taojyâca*, winter and *taojya*; it appears quite natural to compare Tosius (Toshy-us ?) with taojya (for the suffix-*us*, compare the Persian *nâmus*, reputation derived from *nâm*). It is proper to give to *taojya* the meaning of *cold, snow*, by comparing it with the Sanskrit *tush-âra*, so that *zyâm taojyâca* would be winter and cold. This indentification of Tosius with *taojya* may be objected to on the ground that the Afrin gives Tosius as the first counter-creation of Ahriman, while in the Vendidad winter and *taojya* form the last. But the same chapter of Vendidad in another paragraph (§ 9) presents winter as the first counter-creation. It is nothing astonishing then that *taojya* which is attached to it by a natural and close bond appears also in the same rank.—If the hypothesis just urged be correct, Amurdad, in fighting with Tosius, fights with winter and cold. By what right? Would it be because as the deity of plants it is he who gives in the wood of trees the weapons necessary for overcoming winter?

sources consulted by Hyde, Khordâd presides over trees and grass as much as over waters.[1] Amurdâd, it is true, remains confined to his special functions of king of the plants; but this fact is easily explained and it is that which should, I think, explain the current division of functions. The cult of Haoma, like that of Soma in India, had relegated to the second place the cult of the waters; it is the Gaokerena, the white Haoma, that is to say a plant, which should produce immortality on the day of the resurrection, and if it grows in the waters of Ardvî-Cûra, it is to that alone still that this virtue is expressly attributed. It is with a plant that the ideas of immortality are then particularly found to be connected and that is why Ameretât appears only as king of the plants. But as the idea of health was not in a special way connected with that of waters Khordâd had no reason to narrow the limits of his domain. When he therefore appeares to encroach upon Amurdâd, it is not so: Khordâd has acquired nothing but Amurdâd has been a loser. There has not been then an absolute division of functions, but only a partial limitation of them. It is undoubtedly true that, on the very account that Amurdâd is *exclusively* the deity of the plants, Khordâd becomes *more particularly* the deity of the waters; but he has not become such exclusively, as it were, for bearing witness to an ancient state of joint-possession.

IV.

§ 41. We have noticed in the first chapter of this study (last note to § 8) how the Mazdiasnian conception of hell has survived Mazdiasnism in Persia and how Musulman orthodoxy differs little on this point from Parsi orthodoxy. We can here point out a novel example of the persistence of religious beliefs and practices. The name of Ameretât does certainly awake no more any religious idea in the mind of the Persian

1 See his Veterum Persarum Religio. (The Religion of the ancient Persians), 2nd Edition, p. 241.

Mussulmans; it is no more than the name of a month[1] and again this name is hardly known except among antiquarians, the Arabic calendar being alone popular. And yet in the year 1288 of the Hegira, in the reign of the Koran, Ameretât, deity of the plants, was still honoured as he was in the good times of the Avesta. The name is there no more, but the deity is always there.

"Half way up the hill a sort of solitary brushwood grows across the road, raising its thousands of thorny branches to a man's height. Heaps of earth, piled up around in a religious spirit, and small tatters of stuffs hung up by hundreds from all the branches attest the veneration of the native inhabitants (for the tree). Our muleteers in passing do not fail to fulfil this pious duty. Each of them takes up his flint for enlarging the common heap by its means, and then conscientiously tearing out a small piece from the corner of his cloak suspends it *ex voto* on the brambles of the bush. A like ceremony occurs in similar circumstances some kilometres farther on. We try in vain to get the solution of this religious enigma out of our servants. "It is the custom" reply they to us all in a body. They know no more about it. The instructions have been scrupulously handed down from age to age; each one mechanically conforms to them without disturbing himself with knowing its origin."[2] As the scene occurs in those desolate mountains which separate Ghilan from Irak, M. Patenôtre supposes that "it is this total absence of vegetation which makes the least bush that is met with in the vicinity the object of a superstitious creed." But it is not there that the solution of the enigma must be sought, because two centuries ago Chardin found the same creed in the Paradise

1 Each Ameshaspand has given his name to a month (Compare note 3 on p. 10 of the manuscript).

2 Jules Patenôtre, Les Persans chez eux (The Persians at Home), being notes of a journey, in the Revue des Deux-Mondes, March 1, 1875. (Vol. VIII, p. 162).

of Persia, at Shiraz. "What is finer at Shiraz are the public gardens, twenty in number, the trees in which are, as I believe, the biggest of their kind that are observed in any quarter of the world; so high that the longest arquebus could not fire at the top and so big that three men could not clasp it round..... I measured one of them in the royal gardens in the south of Shiraz, which was more than 24 feet in circumference. The inhabitants of Shiraz, finding this tree worn out with age, believe it to be several centuries old and pay their devotion to it as to a holy place. They like to go and perform their prayers under its shade. They fasten to its branches strings of beads, amulets, and small bits of their garments; sick men, or their servants for them, come and burn incense there, fasten on it small lighted wax-candles, and there go through other superstitious rites, similar in their view to recovery of health. Everywhere in Persia there are these old trees superstitiously revered by the people, who call them *Dracte fazêl i. e.* excellent trees. They are found all pierced with nails, for fastening thereon pieces of dress or other tokens as a matter of vow:" [1] Barbaro, who travelled in Persia in the middle of the 15th century, meets also with the *Dracte fazêl* and gives us the reason of the worship rendered to them: "incidi interdum in spinarum arbustum cui ingentem segminum et scrutorum [2] adhaerere copiam vidi; per quae hoc illi intelligi volunt, quasi *febrem et morborum alia symptomata* arceant.[3] I sometimes came across a thorny tree, to which I found a vast abundance of small bits and fripperies adhering; through these things the people wish this to be understood, that they drive off as it were *fever and other symptoms of diseases.*" Here is the Avesta in full for us: these trees, say Barbaro and Chardin,

1 Chardin's Travels II, 200 (Amsterdam Edition).

2 The Persian poets compare the Dirakhti-fâzil to beggars in tatters (Compare Vullers' Persian Dictionary s *dirakht*).

3 Cited by Ouseley in his Travels (I, 469), see the numerous texts on the cult of trees collected by Ouseley.

beat back fever and disease. The trees have been given for beating back disease, death, and fevers, said Ahura Mazda to us not long ago (§ 37). So far as the name of these trees is concerned it is Zoroastrian: *dirakht-i-fâzil* is the literal translation of the Avestaic expression *urvarâo vanuhîs* (good trees).

Nothing more contrary to the spirit of Islamism than this worship of the creature. Let one burden himself with *Tav'îz*, with amulets made up of holy formulas and verses from the Koran, nothing better; but the worship of trees could be nothing but idolatry.[1] It was however so powerful and had so thoroughly entered into their customs that it continued to exist and, what is more, became a pious affair. The *Dirakht-i-fâzil* which grow near a mosque often compete with them (*i. e.* other *Durakhti-fâzil*): "devout people take pleasure in praying to God and in meditating under these trees rather than in the mosques.....They say that one should piously believe that saintly men came to offer their prayers beneath them and retired to them in the shade for meditation." [2] One sees by what process the idolatrous worship was purified and justified; it was no more the tree that was worshipped but the memory of the *Sheikh* who had sanctified it.[3] The Dervishes who pass the night under the branches or in the trunk of these

1 "All this he condemned as remains of the ancient *but peresti* or idolatry, still lingering in this country since the time when Noah and his family descended into it from Mount Ararat": such was the judgment which a Persian, Ouseley's companion on the road, pronounced on the subject.

2 Chardin II, 44,201.

3 Hence the name of *pîr*, old man, given also to these trees. "Onde, dicendo che il tale albero, o il tal luogo e *Pîr*, vogliono inferire, che vi habita, e che per diletto vi si trattiene l'anima di qualche *Pîr*, cioe di qualche persona, al falso lor credere, beata. (Whence they say that such a tree or such a place is *Pîr*, they mean to infer that he lives there and that through pleasure they entertain there the soul of some *Pîr*, falsely believing him blessed):—Pietro della Valle, quoted by Ouseley I, 374.

trees observe the appearance of resplendent lights: these are the souls "of the Aoulia (the saints, the blest men) who offered their devotions under their shade. Persons suffering from chronic diseases go and make vows to these Spirits or Shades, and if they subsequently get well they do not fail to proclaim a miracle."

Thus the cult of the tree, a cult eminently Mazdiasnian, has survived Mazdiasnism: the tree drives off disease, now as formerly, under the Moulas as under the Mobeds. Xerxes putting a golden necklace on the platane tree on his way[1] and the peasant of the 19th century hanging over bushes the tatters of his cloak, worship the same deity. The only change which the lapse of twenty three centuries and ten conquests has brought about is that the muleteers of M. Patenôtre recognise no more the name of their deity, while the King of Kings did recognise it; a very small difference in the eye of *Comparative Theology*, which considers the beliefs and the mental condition they disclose rather than the words which express them. But the belief is the same in the two parts, viz., that there is in the tree a power which dispels disease and death. Those instructions which the peasants of Ghilan, pious Mussulmans and unconscious worshippers of the Amshaspand Ameretât, still follow, these instructions are lost in the past beyond the times of Herodotus and Xerxes:
Xerxes had received them from his ancestors, they are as ancient as the religion whose catechism the Achéménides engraved on the rocks of Persepolis, as ancient as that language of the cuneiforms which had already died out twenty centuries ago.[2]

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1 See note 4 on page 60.

2 It is probable that the study of legends and modern customs would warrant of our coming to a similar conclusion for Haurvatât. With this view I shall take the liberty of appealing to English critics for the solution of a literary problem which concerns one of their poets and which may eventually concern our Ameshaspand. Thus sings the poet of the Lalla Rookh:—

V.

§ 42. We have seen in the previous pages what the last two Amshaspands and the Daêvas who opposed them were primitively and what they became afterwards. We are at liberty now to ask ourselves if there is any conclusion to be drawn from this study for one's guidance in that of the Amshaspands in general.

1° This study enables us from the very beginning to understand why Haurvatât-Ameretât form a relatively independent group among the Amshaspands. It is that, while the others represent purely moral abstractions (Purity, Good Thought &c), the former represent material abstractions, *health* and *long life*. The two groups then comprise two different kinds of good things. If the good things of the second class may be considered as connected with the good things of the first class and as dependent on them, health and not-dying being the recompense of Purity, they may also be considered separately, and

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There's a drop, said the Peri, that down from the moon
Falls through the withering airs of June
Upon Egypt's land, of so healing a power,
So balmy a virtue, that ev'n in the hour
That drop decends, contagion dies,
And health reanimates earth and skies.

(Paradise and the Peri, ad finem).

Thomas Moore explains in a note that the allusion is to the *nucta* or miraculous drop which falls in Egypt on St. John's day and which is supposed to have the property of arresting pestilence. But Moore here gives a property to the *nucta* which it has not and does not give to it that which it has. The nucta does not arrest pestilence, the nucta is the drop which causes the rising of the Nile (See Silvestre de Sacy's Translation of Abdallatif's Account of Egypt p. 347). The poet has then very probably confounded the Egyptian legend of the drop of water which causes the swelling of the Nile with a different legend, viz. that of a drop of water which arrests pestilence. From what source has this last legend been drawn ? Is it Persian ? If it is, then the verses of the English poet are a distant echo of the Avestaic formulas, already cited (Vendidad 21,3 cited at the commencement of § 36).

logically they ought indeed to be so under this last aspect before being so under the other. One ought to ask for health and long life and consequently to invoke the deities who dispose of them, that is to say personify these abstractions, surely before asking for Good Thought, Piety, Purity, and personifying them. It will be necessary then, in a general study of the Amshaspands, to inquire if, historically, they should not be divided at least into two classes, the first and the most ancient being composed of the two material abstractions which we have studied.

2° We have seen that the adaptation of the material attribute to the abstract meaning is explained in a way quite natural, quite spontaneous. There is nothing which indicates deliberate work and system. If Haurvatât and Ameretât are found invested with royalty over a part of nature, that royalty has not been given to them but has been acquired by them by virtue of their definition; being the deities of Health and of Immortality, they were called upon from that very fact to rule over the part of nature where these two good things were stored up. Force of circumstances and not the calculation of theologians made them kings; they become so in the place where they rule by mythical, not by scholastic law. Can as much as this be said of their colleagues ? Did they become kings in their part of the creation quite spontaneously, unconsciously, unsystematically ? Is it, for example, the sole development of the ideas contained in the name of Vohu-mano, Good Thought, which made him the deity of cattle ? One will have then to ask himself what part in the material province of the Amshaspands should be assigned to analogy, what is spontaneous and what artificial in the system; but the result of the sole study of Haurvatât-Ameretât is that the fundamental idea is spontaneous. A certain number of the Amshaspands, two at the least, had developed material attributes by themselves, apart from all systematic idea.

3° The same question arises for the counter-Amshaspands.

Out of the six two are natural and spontaneous, Târîc and Zârîc, disease and death. Are the others such ? Are all such ? Or indeed has a conscientious search been made for the adversaries of the Amshaspands who had not spontaneously come across them ? An important question for the sake of the names of three of these counter-Amshaspands and one in which the question of the true connection of Vedism with Mazdiasnism is found to be involved in an obvious way. If the opposition of Añdra, Caurva, Nâonhaitya to the three Amshaspands is found to be a recent and artificial act, one of the latest creations of Mazdiasnism, a creation of the learned and not of the popular religion, belonging to the period of *co-ordination*, not to the period of *formation*, the theory of a religious revolution which should have thrown into hell the deities of the old religion will be found singularly compromised.

PART II.

The Indo-iranian elements.

I.

§ 43. The Mazdiasnian deities are historically divided into two classes. One of them had arisen before the nation called Indo-iranian was divided into its two branches; these are the deities who are found under the same name or under equivalent names in the religion of India and the religion of Persia. They may be styled the *Indo-iranian* deities, however profound in other respects the alterations may be which they may have subsequently undergone with the two nations and which transformed them, each by his side following the peculiar tendencies of his own religions development. The second class contains the deities who arose only after the separation of the two nations; we shall style them *Iranian deities properly so called*, although in truth the action of the Iranian mind is not less

energetic or less apparent in the deities which it has transformed than in those which it has created. Haurvatât and Ameretât, deities of the waters and of the plants, belong to the class of Iranian deities properly so called. There is no analogous group in the Vedic Olympus; this besides it is hardly necessary to say, since we have seen that the study of the Iranian documents permits our coming to a period when Haurvatât and Ameretât were not yet the deities of waters and of plants, whence it necessarily follows that we are here in the presence of a creation purely Mazdiasnian. But if we consider the divine couple not by its state already formed but in the elements whose union has formed it, a new question arises, and if the union of the elements remains a fact purely Iranian, one may inquire whether these elements themselves are such or whether they go back to a period more ancient.

These elements reduced to their essential form are two in number:

1° The belief that waters and plants give health and not-dying.

2° A formula reuniting health and not-dying in one prayer.

II.

§ 44. Is the belief that waters and plants give health and immortality purely mazdiasnian or is it indeed Indo-iranian? In other words did it already exist when the ancestors of the Iranians and of the Hindus did yet form only one people, of one religion and of one language? This belief is Indo-European: it already existed in the period of the general unity, that is to say when the ancestors of the Arians of Asia and the Arians of Europe lived still mixed, forming only one people, of one religion, and one language. We need not reiterate the proof of this truth; it has been given long since.[1] We have

1 See principally M. Kuhn's book, *Herabkunft des Feuers*.

only to bring to our reader's notice for the plants the Indo-European legends of Soma[1] and for waters the Indo-European legends of the fountains of youth. Already in the period of the general unity there grew in the atmospheric rivers a celestial plant whose juice gave to the Gods their immortality ; and Cyavana coming out of empty space with renewed youth is a German and Greek legend as much as Indian.[2] It signifies little that the point in question in these legends is about certain plants and certain waters; it is clear that they could not be formed without the perception of the vivifying virtues of the waters and of the sensible plants. At this point the mythical instinct separated, which had only to carry ad infinitum these experimental virtues by transferring them to analogous beings, placed beyond the hold of experience.[3]

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1 Whatever was the Indo-european name of Soma.

2 From the same source flows the water of life (âbi hhyât, âbi Zindagi), sought in vain by the Alexander of the Persian legend.

3 This process is specially visible in the myths of Haoma-Soma. There are two sorts of Haoma, the terrestrial Haoma which is yellow, the celestial Haoma which is white. The first was brought up from the sky, the second remained there. They have the same home, the same vital virtues, but of the second only it is said that it will give immortality on the day of resurrection. This distinction is Indo iranian. It was necessary. The drinker of Soma might well exclaim in the intoxication of the moment: we have drunk the Soma, we have become immortal ! apâma, somam amrtâ abhûma (8,48,3) : experience ought very rapidly to convince him of his mistake. Hence, in strict logic, this conclusion that it is not the terrestial Soma, the Soma of Yellow colours, which had given to the deities and which gave to the ancestors, their immortality. *There was then another Soma*, the true one, that which had remained in the sky and of which the terrestrial Soma was only the shadow and foretaste.

Somam manyate papivân yat sampinshanty oshadhim
Somam yam brahmâno vidur na tasya açnâti kaçcana (10,85,3)
âchadvidhânair gupito bârhatais soma raxitah
grâvnâm ic chrnvan tishthasi na te açnâti pârthivah (4)
yat tvâ deva propibanti tata â pyâyase punah (5)

" When they have bruised a plant, they say I have drunk the Soma ; the Soma which sages are familiar with, no being on earth has tasted it.

The Indo-European myths show us only the immortalizing properties of waters and of plants and not their healing properties; but it is quite clear that the one involves the other and if the legends of wonderful cures common to the whole race are not cited, this undoubtedly results from the paleness of these myths compared with those of the first class.

We could at this point answer the question placed at the commencement of this paragraph and conclude that the Indo-iranian period recognised the belief in question. Indeed, as this belief *already existed* in the Indo-european period and *was still extant* in the Iranian period, it necessarily remained in the intermediate or Indo-iranian period. But the Indo-european myths give us only a latent and dull belief which gets clear in the eyes of the psychologist rather than in those of the historian. The absence of Indo-european texts does not permit our asserting *a conscious belief, capable of being expressed in a formula*. But it is a belief of the kind which the Avesta offers us and which alone can explain the domain of waters and of plants attributed to the deities of Health and of

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Under shelter of the veils which cover thee, and the props which protect thee, O Soma,
thou remainest untouched under the bruising stones, no earthly being has tasted thee.
O God, upon the lips which drink thee thou flowest copiously afresh." The less mystic Aryans of Persias gave to the celestial Soma more distinct traits; they defined it *by difference*. To transform with the least possible trouble a natural object into a supernatural one, it is sufficient to substitute for one of its external traits a trait which experience does not recognise in it. The terrestrial Haoma is Yellow; then the celestial Haoma is white If a white Haoma was discovered one fine day, the celestial Haoma would, after the first enthusiasm and the first disillusion were over, have immediately changed its colour. (In the 4th verse I have given a hypothetical translation of *bârhata* on the analogy of *upabarhana* in verse 7 of the same hymn. Grâvnâm ic &c. signifies word for word; *in the manner of stones thou standest hearing*, the stones with which the Soma is bruised are here spoken of).

Immortality. Did a like belief already exist in the Indo-iranian period? Such are the terms in which the question occurs to us.

If such a belief is found formulated in the Vedas, it will be quite probable that it already existed in the religion whence Mazdiasnism and Vedism started; and if it explains besides any legends common to the two religions, this probability will become a certitude.

§ 45. WATERS:—"In the waters is immortality; in the waters the remedy";
apsv antar amrtam apsu bheshag'am (1, 23, 19);
in other words, waters give not-dying and health.

"Of the waters I ask the remedy; in the waters, said Soma to me, in the waters are all the remedies; O Waters, give me the remedy in full torrents, a bulwark which may defend my body,—and to see the sun for a long time";
apo yâcâmî bheshag'am
apsu me somo abravîd antar viçvâni bheshag'â
âpas prnîta bheshag'am varûtham tanve mama
g'yok ca sûryam drçe (10, 9, 5-7).

These are healers, the best of all (*bhishag'âm bhishaktamâh*, Atharva Veda 6, 24,2), these are the universal remedy.[1] Like the clouds of the Avesta (§ 36), they bring well-being and cure in the morning rain;[2] "may Soma in being purified cause the rain to flow from the sky towards us, the undulating waters, whose freshness, from above, drives away disease."[3]

They cure, whether they come from the billows of the ocean or from the billows of the Acesinès:[4]

"May the waters of the Himavat be bountiful for thee, bountiful the waters of the sources may be!

1 10, 137, 6.
2 5, 53, 14.
3 9, 49, 1.
4 8, 20, 25.

Bountiful the waters which run, bountiful the waters of the rain! Bountiful the waters of the moor, bountiful the waters of the pond!
Bountiful the waters of the cisterns, bountiful the waters which thou bringest in thy pitchers!.....
Better healers than the healers, the waters, we bless them .....
Bountiful be to thee the waters, good be to thee the waters!
Let the waters drive disease away from thee!
They refresh thee, when thou art thirsty: let them cure thee when pain bends thee (Atharva Veda 19,2,1-5).

§ 46. PLANTS:—"O plants of hundred virtues, deliver to me this man from disease![1]

When the plants have made their union, like chiefs in the battle,[2] then the priest takes the healer's name, his who kills the *raxas*, who drives away disease.

The Açvâvatî, the Somâvatî, the Urg'ayantî, the Udog'as, I have found out all these plants, that this man may be without attack of disease.

O plants, do you come rapid as the river, as the bird, do you make away with all that causes suffering. They surmount all obstacles, as the thief does the hedge of the stable; the plants cause the disappearance of every sickness which consumes the body.

When I, who reanimate men, hold these plants in my hand, the breath of disease is extinguished, as if under the blow of a murderer.

When you, O plants, slide over a sick man, limb by limb, joint by joint, you beat disease out of his body, like a redoubtable conqueror.

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1 It is the priest who speaks before the sick man.

2 A mythical expression for indicating a medical compound. The plants reunite their efforts for chasing away from the sick man's body the *Raxas* who are its masters.

Do thou disappear, O disease, with the jay and the Kikidîvi, do thou disappear in the course of the wind."[1]

They all listen to the priest's appeal, plants with fruit or without fruit, plants with flower or without flower;[2] those which are at a distance come up, unite themselves to those that are near, and all together aid each other, act in concert, and consult together with the king Soma for snatching the sick man away from anguish[3]

Dispelling disease, they dispel death; they free the man's foot from the bond of Yama.[4]

"O tree *daçavrxa*, deliver this man from the embrace of the Raxas who has seized him within his limbs; O tree, carry him into the troop of the living. He is come, he has risen, he has rejoined the troop of the living; he has become a father and happy among all men.

He has renewed the chain of memory, he has re-entered the towns of the living; for he possessed a hundred remedies, he possessed a thousand plants;"—Atharva Veda II, 9, 1-2-3.

A good part of the Atharva is only the development of the beliefs which the previous strophes express and which the following one summarizes:—

Ut tvâ mrtyor oshadhayas somarâg'nîr apîparan
apa tvam mrtyum nirrtim apa yaxmam ni dadhmasi (Atharva Veda, 8, 1, 18).

"The plants which have Soma for king have caused thee to recover from death;
we snatch away from thee death, Nirrti, disease."

If we remove from the last verse Nirrti, a general expression for destructive force, of which disease and death are so to say

1 Rig Veda 10, 97, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10-13.
2 Rig Veda 10, 97, 15.
3 Rig Veda 10, 97, 21.
4 Rig Veda 10, 97, 16.

the two aspects, there remains for us the couple *mrtyur yaxmah*, that is to say the equivalent of the Iranian couple *mahrkô yaçkaçca*, reproduced as faithfully as the formative laws of Sanskrit permit. If the Védas do not present to us a formula as precise as that of the Avesta, if they do not say in the same terms that plants have been given for resisting disease and death (*paitistâtéê yaçkahêca mahrkahêca* § 37), the belief which produced this formula in the Avesta is not less deeply marked in the Védas. The very name for plants in Sanskrit, *oshadhi*, a Prakrit form of *avasa-dhi*,[1] "treasure of help," shows that among the Arians of India the plants are above all *the helpers, the healers*. The technical name *vîrudh* (that which grows) is less popular.

§ 47. This belief common to the Arians of Persia and the Arians of India had already produced before their separation two common legends.

I. It is known that in mazdiasnism each class of beings has its chief, its *ratu* who conducts it in its combat against Ahriman. We have seen that Haoma is the chief of plants, "The Haoma, squeezed for the sacrifice," says the Bundehesh, "is the ratu of wholesome plants."[2] But the Vedic Soma, no more than the Mazdiasnian Soma, is not separate from the rest of the plants. He is their chief (vîrudhâm adhipatîh), their king (oshadhis somarâg'nîh), they recognise him as such; O King, we save him for whom the Brahman sacrifices, "yasmai krnoti brâhmanas tam *râg'an* pârayâmasi (Rig Veda 10,97,22)."[3]

1 A very probable etymology given by the authors of the St. Petersburg Dictionary.

2 *Hom i hût bacagân* (=*bisacagân*) *urvarân rat* (58, 10). *The Haoma squeezed*, because it is in the sacrifice alone that it has its virtues. The same thing with Soma; *Somo râg'âmrtam sutah*, the King Soma, when he is squeezed, is amrta, the liquor of immortality (*Vâg'asaneyi sanhitâ*).

3 I then regard Soma as having already the title of king of plants in the Indo-iranian period. From the fact of Mazdiasnism having systematically given kings to each class of beings, one is not bound to conclude

II. We have seen in the previous chapter (§ 37) that the Mazdiasnian plants grew at first round the Gaokerena, or celestial Haoma, in other words that they grew in heaven and that thence Ahura sent them on earth to Thrita, the first of healing men. The Soma being the king of plants on earth, it is probable that the plants formed also his court when he had not yet descended here below and consequently that the Indian plants, like the Iranian ones, come from the sky. This inference is verified; *avapatantîr* avadan *diva oshadhayas pari* Yam 'gîvam açnavâmahai na sa rishyâti pûrushah (10,97,17.)

"*The plants said, in descending from the sky*; the mortal whom we touch will suffer no *wound*." This text, unique but express, permits our placing, by the side of the Indo-iranian myth of the *descent of Soma*,[1] a second Indo-iranian myth, that of the *descent of plants*. This here is one of the cases where the Avesta is more antique and more perfect than the Védas;[2] the latter have no more than a recollection of the legend, the Avesta recognises its history. The Indian commentators, ordinarily so prolix, are here uncommonly concise; their having no legend on these verses proves that they do not

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that Soma and Haoma became kings, each on their side, after the separation of the two people. The germ of the system is Indo-iranian. The Indo-iranian religion had already at least two kings; 1° the King of celestial beings, the providence-god who keeps watch over the universe, from whom proceeded on the one hand Veruna, and the *Asura, who knows all* (asuro viçvavedâh Rig Veda 8, 42, 1), on the other hand the *Ahura, the great knowing* (ahuro maz-dâo); 2° Soma, king of plants. There were then the rudiments of a general classification of beings, from which the Mazdiasnian system proceeded. India did not arrive at a precise and settled hierarchy, but it has the idea and tries now and then to realize it (for example Harivañça, 222nd adhyâya).

1 This myth is found in the 10th and 11th chapters of the Yaçna in Avesta and in the Vedas 4,26; 8,84,3; 89,8, &c. Compare Kuhn's Herabkunft des Feuers.

2 These cases are not very rare; in the myths of Trita and of Yama the Avesta explains the Vedas.

recognise it, that there is nothing more of it.[1] But the more faithful language of classic poetry has preserved an echo of this myth; " when the flower Kuruvaka shows its dull-coloured corolla and its rosy lip like the nail of a woman, when the young açoka, with its bright colours, thinks of half opening itself, when the mango-tree puts forth a new top, whose extremities turn yellow under a light layer of pollen, it is a sign that *the descent of spring* has just occurred."[2] The descent of spring, the *vasantodâra* of the poets, is the last witness in India of the Indo-iranian myth;[3] the myth, not understood, has evaporated in a poetical metaphor.[4]

§ 48. These common qualities of the waters and the plants had already brought on in the Indo-iranian period the formation of a *waters-and-plants* couple[5] (§ 10). We recognise this dvandva in the Avesta, it is the dvandva *âpô urvarâo.* The Vedas offer the same pair; only the word *urvarâ*, having

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1 Sayana is content with explaining the words: divo=dyulokâd avapatantîr=avapatantya oshadhir ittham paryavadan. Mahidhara does the same in the Vâg'asaneyi Sanhitâ: divas pari=dyulokât sakâçâ davapatantîr=avapatantyo 'dhastât bhûmau gachantya oshadhaya avadan= parasparam vadanamuktavatyah (12,90,)

2 Vikramorvaçi (Calcutta Edition) p. 24.

3 Compare Çâkuntala (Chézy's Edition p. 20). *Vasantodâra* or better *vasandodâra* is the Pracrit contraction of vasanta-avatâra.

4 Let us again cite these verses of the Atharva (2,7,3):
divo mûlam avatatam prthivyâ adhyuttatam
tena sahasrakândena pari nas pâhi viçvatah.

"That plant *which descends from the sky* and which ascends beyond the earth, in the name of that plant with its thousand internodes, protect us from all evil." The plant goes up again to the sky whence it comes.— A certain number of plants have for their name the word *divya* " heavenly," (see St. Petersburg Dictionary s. v.)

5 Other causes contributed to the formation of this group: the double birth of Agni in the waters and the plants (1,164,52; 3,1,13; 22,2; 10,51,3 &c.), their union in the sacrifice (10,30,5) and above all their natural union (5,82,10; 7,70,4; 7,101,2).

obtained in Sanskrit a different sense,[1] has been replaced by *oshadhi*, the Sanskrit name for plant. The negative duties with reference to Khordâd Amurdâd (§ 6) are summarized in these words of the Vâg'asaneyi Sanhitâ (6,22) : mâpo maushadîr hinsîh, "do not outrage the waters or the plants." Naturally the Vedic couple *âpo oshadhayah* is rarer and less active than the Zend couple ; it is in the act of dying, when the other is being developed. But there still remain traces of their union in their virtues of imparting life and health :

Sumitriyâ na âpa oshadhayas santu
durmitriyâs tasmai santu yo'smân dveshti
yam ca dvishmah (Vâg'asaneyi Sanhitâ 5, 6, 22.)

" May the waters and the plants be our friends
May they be enemies to him who hates us
and whom we hate."

çam te agnis saha adbhirastu
çam somas saha oshadhîbhih
(Atharva Veda, 2,10,2,)

" May Agni with the waters, soma with the plants, protect thee."

With the Arians of India, as with the Arians of Persia, there is like sentiment of admiration and of unconscious hankering after *the water which runs, the tree which grows*, eternal witnesses of the force and health of nature : they long for " the radiance of the waters, their light, their force, and the vigour of the trees. [2]

So too there are like relations with the plant of immortality, like qualities, like origin, like fatherland ; the plants of the two peoples have a common past.

III.

§ 49. Then the belief that waters and plants give heath and not-dying existed in the Indo-iranian period ; and it

1 " Sown soil."
2 Atharva Veda 1,35,3.

existed, not as a belief latent and dull and revealing itself to the historian through the myths which involve it, but as a belief conscious, deliberate, and capable of direct expression.

This belief coming in the Iranian period across the couple of the abstract deities, Health and Immortality, brought into existence therefrom the deities of waters and of plants.

Is this couple "*health, not dying*" of Iranian formation or are there in the Védas any signs of a nature to make us think that it is more ancient? Here there are two things to be distinguished: the idea and the formula.

§ 50. Like the Avesta, the Védas unite these two objects in a single prayer. We have several times already met with them in their union; we have seen the waters as lords of *immortality* and of *remedy* (amrtam, bheshag'am), that is to say of *not-dying* and of *health*. We have seen that one demanded of them *remedy* and the *sight of the sun for a long time*, in other words again health and long life [1]

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1 We have already noticed before the trio *mrtyu nirrti yaxma* which is in reality reduced to two, *mrtyu yaxma*, the equivalent of the two Zend expressions (§ 46).

The same idea occurs in these verses of the Atharva.

Pratyak sevasva *bheshag'am—g'aradashthim krnomi* te (5,30,6).

Receive these *remedies* one by one, I restore thee *having bones grown old*.

And further on,

mâ bibher *na marishyasi* g'aradashthim krnomi tvâ
niravocam aham *yaxmam* añgebhyo' ñgag'varam tava,
Fear nothing, *thou wilt not die*, through me thou wilt attain old age:
my voice has chased away from thy limbs *the sickness* which consumes thee.

There is the same idea again in the Vedic refrain: (evam) dadhâra te mano gîvitave na mrtyave 'ttho rishtatâtaye,

"I strongly fix thy soul, that thou mayst live, that thou mayst not die, and that thou mayst be without affliction"; in other words, I remove thee from death, from sickness, I restore thee, said the Avesta, *amahrkem ayaçkem*.

Here in fine is a formula still clearer and more direct, where health is expressed by the very name of the Iranian deity :

Savitâ nas suvatu *sarvatâtim*
Savitâ no râsatâm *dîrgham âyus* (10,36,14)
Let Savitar send us *health*,
let Savitar bestow on us *long life*.

This word *sarvatâti*, more archaic in its form than the corresponding zend one, since it has not yet softened down the final suffix, is identical in meaning. But on the other hand *it is more ancient than the language to which it belongs ;* it can no more be explaind by the Vedic language, because it has remained stationary in meaning, while by its side the word *sarva* which explains it went astray.[1] The Hindus understand it no more, they no more know the thing which it expresses and they can know it no more, because it is more archaic than the Vedic language, it is *pre-Vedic*. This confirms for us the antiquity

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1 Hence the confusion of the Hindu grammarians. They get out of it by an expedient which borders on nonsense : *tâti* is there as if it did not exist and *sarvatâti* has the meaning of *sarva*. But to translate *svastim îmahe sarvatâtaye* (6,56,6,) " we ask well-being for every one who is to us," is what is difficult to make out with the best will for the world, when one meets in another place

agnîtaye 'hataye pavasva svastaye sarvatâtaye (9,96,4)

" Flow by purifying thyself, O soma, for giving us victory, safe life well being, *sarvatati.*

It is clear that *sarvatâti* is a thing of the same class as *svasti, ahati* &c.

M. Benfey having recognised in *sarva* the Latin *salvus* (cf. § 14) compared *sarvatâti* with *salus=salvotât* (or more exactly *salvitât*) He consequently translated the word by "health, safety." The verse cited above then runs, flow.....for giving us victory, safe life, well being health. The formula *svastim îmahe sarvatâtaye* signifies ; " we implore well-being and being in health" ;

ta âdityâ â gatâ *sarvatâtaye*,
bhûta devâ vrtratûryeshu çambhuvas, 1,106,2.

"O you, âdityas, come that we may be safe and sound ; be you favourable to us, o gods, that we may crush our enemies ?"

of the formula which we have just cited, a formula the exact sense and the deep unity of which are no more capable of being seized by the Védic language and to which the Indo-iranian language gives a meaning clear, precise, and doubly harmonizing both with the Iranian formulas and with other Védic ones, identical in sense and still understood.

Then the idea of this pair is Védic as well as Iranian, and since the belief that waters and plants give *immortality and health* is Indo-iranian, we can say that this couple, Indian and Iranian, is Indo-iranian.

§ 51. If we now compare the formula last quoted with the Zend formula, we find that one of the two Zend terms is reproduced (*haurvatât*), the other explained (*ameretât*). In another Védic formula already cited and identical in meaning (apsu antar amrtam apsu bheshag'am § 45), a formula uniting the same pair of ideas, immortality and heath, we find the connection inverted, that is to say *ameretât* reproduced[1] and *haurvatât* explained. In other words not only does Sanskrit recognize the Zend couple, Health-Immortality, but it even recognises each of the two Zend terms which denote the two members of this couple and it combines each of them with an equivalent of the other. One is at liberty henceforth to inquire whether there has not been at a certain epoch any formulas in which the Sanskrit directly combined these two terms which in the Védic formulas it only combines by equivalent terms.[2] In other words one may inquire if the Zend couple

1 For an exact reproduction it should be *amartatâti* (a very correct form in the Vedic language, compare arishta-tâti). But in amrtam the neuter transforms the participle into an abstract noun just as well as the suffix *tâti* could do so. The competition of *amrtam* and *amrtatvam* very easily explains the disappearance of *amartatâti*.

2 In fact there exists a passage in which *amrtam* and *sarvâtati* are asked of the gods ; but between the two a third thing is asked of them and that breaks the unity of the formula,
dadâta no amrtasya prag'âyâi

haurvatât-ameretât does not directly descend from the Indo-iranian couple. The Indo-iranians demanded of the deities health and immortality in a formula. SARVATÂTI—AMÂRTATÂTI[1] ; this formula remained immovable with the Iranians, because they personified its two terms. With the Indians it remained movable and consequently exposed to the ravages of synonymy, the wants of the metre helping these ravages. Hence the different *versions* of the Védas.[2]

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g'igrta râyas sûnrtâ maghâni (7,57,6)
â stutâso maruto viçva ûtî
acha sûrînt sarvatâtâ g'igâta (7)
"Give us place (O Maruts) in the race of Immortality,
Send us rich and happy fortune ;
to our hymn, do you all, Maruts, come to succour us ;
become faithful towards yourself with health."
ûtî and *sarvatâtâ* represent the same idea ; then *amrtam—râyas—sarvatâtim* immortality—wealth—health are asked of the Maruts.

1 The old Persian *marta* and the modern Persian *murdeh* appear to prove that the vowel *r*, in spite of the Zend *mereta*, is not Indo-iranian. See M. Spiegel's Zend Grammar, § 12.

2 There is a Vedic refrain in which *sarvatâti* is placed along with *aditi* : *â sarvatâtim aditim vrnîmahe* (10,100,1-11). It is generally translated, we ask health of Aditi (See J. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts* V, 45 note). M. Grassmann (in his Vedic Lexicon) considers *aditi* as an adjective connected with *sarvatâtim* and translates it *incessant* (unaufhœrlich). A third translation would be grammatically possible ; this would consist in considering *aditi* as a common noun and in construing it alike with *sarvatâti*. Before we come to any decision we must try to give an account as to what Aditi is. *Aditi* is sometimes an adjective, sometimes an abstract substantive, and often personified. M. Roth has given two different interpretations of the adjective. In his dictionary he translates it by *bundlos, frei* (without tie, free) and derives it from the root *dâ*, to bind ; in his study on the great Aryan divinities (Journal of the German Oriental. Society VI, 68) he made out of it the idea of *Eternity* (die Ewigkeit, das Ewige). This second sense to which M. Roth appears to have returned in other places (See his dictionary s *diti* 1) answers textual necessities more than the first. *Aditi* "that which is not cut" (*dâ*, participle *dina* and *dita*) is the indivisible, *akhandanîyâ* say the Indian commentators. It means the unlimited either in space or in time *i e.* the infinite and the immortal.

Âditi will then be the epithet of things infinite or immortal and, occasionally, their name. Consequently with regard to space it will denote by turn earth, sky and nature. With regard to time it is employed either as adjective or as abstract substantive. When an adjective, it signifies "*imperishable*" : âdityâso *aditayas* syâma (7,52,1), "O âdityas, may we be imperishable"; Mitra and Varuna mount their chariot and see from it *aditim ditimca* (5,62,8) *i. e. the imperishable and the perishable* (Roth l. c. 71). It is absolutely as if there was *amrtam martyamca* (1,35,2). As an abstract substantive *aditi* will mean *immortality*. The âdityas, sons of Aditi (*aditeḥ putrâḥ* 7,60,5) are the sons of immortality *i. e.* the immortals: it is thus that the gods are styled *amrtasya putrâḥ** (10,13,1). By the same reasoning which makes the âdityas sons of Immortality they are as well its brothers (svasâ 'dityânâm 8,90,15 ; compare Atharva Veda 6,4,1 in Muir 38). This purely abstract relationship solves the Vedic problem of Aditi, daughter and mother of Daxa (10,72,5, *aditer daxo 'jâyata daxâd u aditis pari*). In truth Daxa is vital energy (*daxam dadhâsi g'ivase* "thou placest energy in man that he may live" 1,91,7); the Zend *daç-vare* which indicates vigour of health may be compared with it and *daxa* would stand *daç-sa*). The sons of Daxa dispose of strength, life, long life, that of a hundred years (Atharva Veda 1,35,1,2.) Daxa is then only the positive form of

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* It is thus again that Agni is styled *sahasas sûnus* "son of strength" and this epithet already embarassed the Vedic poets themselves who were lost in search of its derivation (Rig Veda 5,11,6) ; in truth *sahasas sûnus*= *sahasvan*, "the strong," another epithet of Agni. In mythology one must feel suspicious of nouns of relationship, which are often only substitutes for a suffix. The Semitic languages are particularly known to employ this method ; but as they have continued to understand it, they do not draw from it any secondary mythology. The Hebrew language has an equivalent of the expression *sahasas sûnus*, "ben hhayyil"; but it only means by it "strong" and nothing which resembles a son of strength. The morning star is called "son of morning, *ben shâhhar*." In these two words, what a number of myths are in force for races that have less control over their imagination and their language !—Pûshan "who opens a large way and delivers from anguish" is styled "son of deliverance," *vimuco napât* (1,42,1) ; this simply means "he who delivers." It would not however be astonishing to find a God Vimuc, father of Pûshan, in every corner of Brahmanical mythology.

Aditi and the problematic verse signifies that *not-dying* gives *life* and *life* gives *not-dying* ; the Vedas are known to be not sparing, on occasions, of these puerile sports (for example : the son has begotten his parents, that is Agni-lightning is brought forth from the waters of storm and brings them forth). For the same reason the gods are sons of Daxa, of vital force, that is of beings of life, of the *asuras*, and *devâ daxapitarah* is nothing else than a synonym of *sudaxah* (it is thus that Mitrâvaruna are styled *tuvig'âtâ* (born strong) and in the following verse *sudâxa daxapitarâ* (7,66,1 & 2) ; compare Taittirîya Sanhitâ in Muir, 51). *daxa* and *Aditi* are then the expression of the same force ; Daxa is its male aspect, Aditi its female aspect ; e g, asacca sacca parame vyoman
daxasya g'anman aditer upasthe (10,5,7.)

" Being and not-being are in the utmost heights of the firmament, begotten by Daxa, brought forth by Aditi,"
in other words, produced by vital Energy in the midst of eternity, a mythical and metaphysical expression for the eternal action of creative forces.—Aditi, denoting eternity, may consequently denote not-dying ; hence the prayer, mayst thou live in the midst of Aditi a hundred winters (aditer upasthe çatam himâh, Atharva Veda (2,2,8,4,) ; *ko no mahyai aditaye punar dât*, exclaims Çunaçepa under the knife, who " will restore us to the great immortality" ? (1,2,4,1.) Hence the appeals for the protection of Aditi (suçarmânam, 10,63,10 ; na urushyatu, çarma yacchatu, 8,47,9 ; yathâ na aditis karat paçve nrbhyo.....rudriyam 1,43,2.)—Aditi appears with a moral character (anâgasa aditaye syâma 1,24,15 ; anâgân aditeh, 4,12,4), but it is a more recent trait there and one which has passed from the Gods *âditya* to their supposed mother.

We may now return to the formula *â sarvatâtim aditim* vrnimahe. We have our choice between two translations ; " we ask health and immortality" and " we ask health of Aditi." I believe the formula has had two meanings at two different epochs ; the first, when aditi was not yet personified, in the period intermediate between the Indo-iranian period and the Védic, such as we know it ; the second, when Aditi had become a goddess.—The Indo-iranian couple *sarvatâti-amartatâti* has then for its Vedic representatives *sarvatâti—dîrgham âyus ; bheshag'am-amrtam* ; *sarvatâti—aditi*. The last couple is the most exact, the first term being identical and the second its equivalent in meaning and grammatical form. It is needless to say that the Hindu commentators have no more any conception of this *very ancient* formula.

IV.

§ 52. Then the two elements whose development and fusion gave birth to the two Amshaspands, Haurvatât and Ameretât, existed already in the Indo-iranian period. The two elements of which they are made up, namely, a legendary belief and a pair of abstractions, these the Arians of India as well as the Arians of Persia had received. But with the first set these two elements remained isolated and consequently sterile; with the second these two abstractions were put together and personified and from their contact with the legendary belief[1] sprang a legendary concrete being.

The Indo-iranian history of our two deities may then be summarized as follows:—

In the period of unity the belief was that waters and plants give health and not-dying, and health and not-dying were demanded of the deities *(sarvatâtim amartatâtim varnâmadhe)*: a belief and a formula.

When the Indo-iranian religion is divided, the legendary belief remains in its two parts, but more clearly among the Iranians. The abstract formula is darkened and extinguished among the Indians; it remains alive among the Iranians. Health and Immortality become concrete beings, persons; they contend against Disease and Death. But the waters and plants maintaining the same contest are their natural auxiliaries, become their subjects, and there you immediately see two new deities sprung up, the divinities of waters and of plants, who soon lose all recollection of their primitive significance.

§ 53. If then Haurvatât and Ameretât are purely Mazdiasnian deities, the germ from which they were sprung is not

1 This belief is at bottom the same which, in the Indo-european period, produced the myths of Soma and of waters of immortality, and it may be said that the formation of Haurvatât-Ameretât is a *revival* of the myths of Soma.

such. Born in the Iranian period, they have been conceived in the Indo-iranian period. In studying one by one the different purely Mazdiasnian deities, I shall attempt to point out that the same is the case with them, that is to say that Mazdiasnism is, in the same way as Vedism, a spontaneous and free development of the Indo-iranian religion, being transformed without any violent change and without there being any need of calling a foreign invasion or an internal revolution to account for it.

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Page	4	line 20,	Read *character* for *list.*
„	8	note, 2,	last line, Read *Compare note* 2 page 50 for *Cp. note* 1 *of* § 30, 2°.
„	11	note, line 23,	Read *God's works*; for *God's works.*
„	12	„ 6,	Read *Tairic* for *Tauric.*
„	14	line 9,	Read *immovable* for *immoveable.*
„	16	„ 26,	Read *none apparent* for *non-apparent.*
„	32	„ 1,	Read *maintain* for *mainatain.*
„	32	note 2, line 3,	Read *Chapters* 5 *and* 37 for *Chapter* 5 *and* 37.
„	33	note, line 2,	Read *identify* for *indentify.*
„	39	„ 1,	last line, Read *sprung* for *spring.*
„	51	line 26,	Read *without* for *with.*
„	63	„ 4,	Read *sisters for aisters.*
„	66	note, 1, line 26,	Read *then* for *that.*
„	69	note, line 2,	Read *brothers* for *brother's.*
„	70	„ „ 5,	Read *entireness* for *entirely.*
„	74	„ 1,	Read *Compare page* 70 *note* 1 for *Compare note* 3 *on page* 10 *of the manuscript.*
„	74	line 3,	Read *alone being* for *being alone.*
„	77	„ 24,	after *Xerxes* dele colon and put full-point.
„	77	note 2, line 2,	Read *warrant* for *warrant of.*
„	80	line 28,	Read *religious* for *religions.*
„	82	note 3, line 11,	Read *yellow* for *Yellow.*
„	83	note, line 10,	Read *yellow* for *Yellow.*
„	92	„ 1, line 15,	Put comma after *well-being.*
„	93	line 16,	Read *health* for *heath.*
„	93	note 2, line 1,	*Read sarvatâte* for *sarvâtati.*

Professor A. WALSH'S Opinion.

September 23, 1886,
St. Mary's College, Madras.

My dear Hirji,

.....I have read through with great care and attention your translation of "Haurvatât and Ameretât." I have compared passages here and there with the original which I found in every instance to be faithfully rendered into good and idiomatic English. The publication of your translation ought to be well received not only by your co-religionists of whose doctrines it is an elaborate exposition, but also by all who take an interest in the history of the origin and development of religious beliefs. You have my best and sincere wishes for the success of this your first literary effort which I consider to be in every way a very creditable performance.....

I am,
Very Sincerely Yours,
(Sd.) A. WALSH.

Professor DARMESTETER'S Opinion.

November 28, 1886.
Byculla, Braganza Hall.

My dear Mr. Wadia,

You asked me my opinion of your translation of "Haurvatât and Ameretât." I have examined closely some of the more difficult passages and which are more likely to give a correct estimate of the translator's competence and I was glad to find that you had both grasped the meaning and rendered them successfully. On the whole from what I have seen I have no doubt that your translation will convey to your English and Parsi readers exactly the idea which the original was intended to convey to the French reader. It is a great thing for an author to feel safe in his translator's hands.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
(Sd.) JAMES DARMESTETER.

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